101 Bushman language groups, Auen, Naron or /Kõ, to the south, or with other /Kung
582 whom the Nyae Nyae /Kung know to be living to the north-east and north-west of
them.

619 The S.W.A. and B.P. governments administer the region as it lies within the
[648] territory of each but not as a unit in itself. The /Kung have developed no internal
political organization to unite their bands. The unity of the region exists, in so far as
we know, only in the minds of its /Kung population and in the fact of their inter-
648 marrying and being held together in a net of kinship and affinity.

162 About 1,000 /Kung live in the region. Roughly three-quarters of them live in 28
[621] bands and are nomadic hunters and gatherers with no agriculture, herds, or beasts of
burden. Approximately another fourth work for Chwana and Herero on their cattle
posts on the periphery of the region. Most of these still have connexions with the
interior bands and intermarry among them. In the interior there are no inhabitants
[177] other than /Kung, and no European or Bantu institutions modify the old /Kung way
of life.

621 My study of /Kung marriage regulations is based on data derived during the
years 1952–3 specifically from 14 bands with which we had the most contact and on
[114] which we gathered considerable genealogical material. These bands varied in size from
8 to 57 persons, averaging 25, with a total of 353. The marriage status of these
persons as of 1952–3 is given in Fig. 1.

[162] FIG. 1. *The Marriage status of a sample of 353 persons*

Married men (9 of them had 2 wives)	88
Wives of above men	97
Old widowers	3
Old bachelors	1
Old widows	24
Young widows	2
Young divorced women	2
Unmarried boys, adolescent and younger	78
Unmarried girls, adolescent and younger	58
Total	353

601 /Kung social organization is of the 'Eskimo' type, as defined by Murdock.[1]
Theirs is the sub-type, which varies from normal Eskimo in that polygyny occurs and
[595] extended families are common instead of independent nuclear families in neolocal
[596] residence. Other characteristics are normal Eskimo. Descent is reckoned bilaterally,
[611] There are no exogamous unilinear kin groups. There is bilateral extension of the
[614] incest taboo. Cousin terms[2] are the same for cross and parallel cousins and cousins
[835] are differentiated terminologically from siblings. One term is applied to both FaBr
and MoBr, another to both FaSi and MoSi, and these terms differ from the terms for
parents.

621 As we examine their rules of exogamy we find that the band is not an exogamous
unit as such. Actually most members of the band are so interrelated by consangui-
582 nity or affinity that the marriage regulations strictly prohibit their intermarrying,

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[113] [1] G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 223, 226–8.

[2] For the terms and for special features of the system see Lorna Marshall: 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, No. 1, Jan. 1957.

000 /135/

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122 The following work was carried out by order of the Command of the Northern District of the Protectorate Forces as the result of a suggestion from the Museum for Ethnology in Berlin.

114 After I had spent the months of August, September, and October of 1908 making the necessary observations, I was called away from Rietfontein (North) and thus out of the region of the ≠Auin [Auen]. This interruption of my studies, which had scarcely begun,

/135 cont./

114 accounts for the incompleteness and gaps in my data, defects which make themselves felt particularly in the last chapter. Thus, I could neither do the important section on linguistics nor make a collection of ethnological materials.

The observations and researches that I did undertake were repeatedly tested for their correctness to the best of my abilities. The possibility of error, of course, is nevertheless admitted without reservation.

Aminuis, August, 1908. Kaufmann.

General Observations

144 It is my conviction that the ǂAuin, as well as all other Kalahari Bushmen, do not represent a homogeneous race, but rather a people or, better still, several peoples who have lost their original character through mixture with one another and above all with peoples of other races (Bantu). At any rate, a number of Bergdamara [Bergdama] or Herero decidedly gives a stronger impression of derivation from the same mold than do the same number of Bushmen.

197 The linguistic differentiation of the individual tribes is sometimes so great that mutual intelligibility is impossible.

171 182 The apparent cultural homogeneity is probably based on the uniformity of the landscape that everywhere surrounds them and on the living conditions (Kalahari culture).

144 171 There is no doubt that an intimate relationship of some kind exists between the Hottentot and Bushmen. It may be that the Bushmen are degenerate Hottentot with some admixture of foreign blood, or, on the other hand, that the Hottentot are Bushmen with foreign admixture who have emancipated themselves from the Kalahari culture.

[114] 144 197 I believe I shall not be guilty of an indiscretion if I report that the ethnographer Dr. Pöch shares this view with me. In a private communication he writes to me from Kamelpan

/136 cont./

162 The approximate number of Auin, naturally in the form of the very roughest estimate, is apparent from the following compilation:

There reside in the region of

Oas	about	300	persons
Dawis	"	150	"
Stampriet	"	250	"
Rooigrauwater	"	50	"
Korikas	"	150	"
Olifantskloof	"	200	"
Habakobis	"	100	"
Rietfontein	"	200	"
Tjumda	"	100	"
Go	"	150	"
Sidonitzaub	"	1,000	"
Karasburg	"	100	"
Epukiro	"	100	"
Ganab	"	100	"
Gam	"	100	"
Total	about	3,000	persons

● [114] In my opinion the number of Bushmen living in the Kalahari (not only the Auin) has been consistently underestimated.

I wrote these lines in October, 1908. Today, in other words, 165 not yet a year later, I am forced to change my opinion, since 161 the malaria of the last rainy season has taken many victims and has decimated the Auin as well as the other tribes. According to the figures provided, I consider myself justified in suggesting that of the Auin estimated above at 3,000, only about half at most remain.

648 It is impossible to obtain more precise statistics since the Bushmen successfully evade any kind of control. Even the administration of the protectorate takes account of this fact by dispensing from the outset with any registration or the like by the Kalahari Bushmen.

144 No special racial layers are to be distinguished among the Auin, although it is doubtless true that certain individuals can be shown to have more Negro blood than others.

[1]

Introduction

121 The purpose of my expedition, on which I was accompanied by my wife, Maria Lebzelter-Grammetbauer, was to study the anthropology and ethnology of the native tribes, especially of the Bushmen, as well as the archeology of South Africa. The original plan came from Professor Father Dr. Wilhelm Schmidt, S.V.D.
122 Repeated generous stipends from His Holiness Pope Pius XI made possible the continuation of the expedition, which was fostered with tireless zeal by Father Schmidt. The Austrian Government, by means of special administrative measures, made it possible for me to set out on this journey. Furthermore, the editor of Anthropos, Professor Father W. Koppers, repeatedly lent considerable support to the expeditionary fund. The Research Grant Board in Johannesburg granted me -- although for purely anthropological purposes -- a single subvention of 50 pounds.

114 I have already described the program and execution of my South African expedition in the first volume of this work. Here, before presenting the ethnological results, I should like to portray in rough outline how these results were arrived at. I must state in advance that there was a space of only three weeks between the time when the measures taken by the Austrian authorities made it certain that I could leave my homeland and my actual departure. Hence, a
[122] more detailed study of the native languages was out of the question. The conditions under which a person today can do ethnological field work are fundamentally different from those of the pioneering era.
[797] Through the activity of the missions, there is growing up among all
[177] tribes, except for the Bushmen, a stratum of intelligent individuals who, if not in this generation, certainly in the next, will take over
000 the research among their own people. I recall a lawyer's clerk in Natal (Swazi) who had acquired a pamphlet of ethnological lectures from Johannesburg and had learned it by heart. When he turned to a White ethnologist, in order to begin the practical work, the latter assured him that just as a race horse could not be used for plowing, so an ox could not be used for racing. Meanwhile, however, a number of very creditable works by natives have
115 already appeared in print. In my investigations I have always used native schoolteachers who had a command not only of the

[3 cont.]

123 the sum of the ethnological results obtained in each case is a func-
124 tion of the amount of "yellow" money that in each instance was
available to me.

000 The results of my work, together with the space available to me, determined the size and content of this book. For the prehistoric cultures, I refer the reader to the first volume.

● 114 My original intention of giving a survey of those tribes
128 among whom I was unable to do research had to be abandoned in
view of the amount of space placed at my disposal. I intend to
do this in the final section of the third volume, where, along with
the anthropological findings, an over-all survey of the cultural
and racial history of South Africa is to be presented. I have
[127] referred to the literature at some length only in the accounts on
the Bushmen tribes of South Africa. In particular the officers of
the Imperial German Colonial Force performed extremely valuable
pioneering work in this area. Their accounts, given with military
exactitude, are unsurpassable and represent ethnological sources
of the first rank.

126 Wherever I did not carry out the observations myself but wrote down the translations of my native interpreters, I have left them unchanged. Hence, I hope that the reader will not hold against me the stylistic defects that appear here and there. The native words for the most part were written down by my interpreters. I would have been happy if it had been possible for me to have all the texts checked by competent experts. This was impossible. I therefore request indulgence in case there are any errors in the linguistic transcription. At any rate, these people wrote their mother tongue. [Page 4 blank.]

[5]

The Bushmen Tribes

172 In terms of geological eras, South Africa has undoubtedly been inhabited for as long a time as the other parts of the Old World. Naturally, the first cultures we know are those that possessed a stone industry. Among these the hand-ax industry, which is also the oldest elsewhere, is likewise widespread in South and Southwest Africa. Since Reck has most recently established

ANGOLA !KUNG

/5 cont./

105 Ninde. They have stopped collecting veldkost and confine themselves to hunting, exchanging the products for vegetables and the like from the Mabunda /Bunda/ and Luchazi, with whom they have a dependent relationship. Their time divisions are the same as those among the !Kung in the south.

The Angola Bushmen have two or three wives. Some of the married couples were cousins.

Each household has a number of calabashes, a few baskets, and a clay pot. Wooden pestles are used for pounding the grain, as in the south.

Among the Bushmen of Kunzumbia, the ear lobes and nasal septum are pierced. All adult men have tattooing on the forehead with vertical lines between the eyes. Furthermore, on the arm and chest they wear so-called "flesh marks" (2) /6/ to record the big game they have killed. The women, too, are tattooed. As weapons, besides bows and arrows, they have the kirri and a short knife. Spears are rare. Ironware, of course, is obtained in trade from the Bantu for the most part, although the Bushmen in Musombu already have their own forge.

[114] The rain dance is described by Bleek just as I have witnessed it. The women and girls stand in a group on one side, singing and clapping their hands, while the men also sing, but do not clap, and perform rhythmic movements with the upper part of the body and arms. They sing:

//nwa-se //kabama //gu a i-i New moon, come out, give us water
//nwa-se tatana //gu a i-i New moon, thunder water down for us
//nwa-se tala u//gu a i-i New moon, throw water down for us.

For the boys' initiation, the candidates withdraw into the forest with three medicine men for a month. There they dance at night, and occasionally the spirit Huwe appears at the dance. There is also a girl's initiation, and at that time another spirit, //Gaua, is supposed to lead the dance. The tattooing of the girls is done in his honor.

[171] 2. These are also found in Ongandjera and along the Natakanako Pan.

!KUNG

[20 cont.]

648 put themselves under a chief, a Herero half-breed named
621 Krüger, whose position was acknowledged" (see p. 87). "In
622 Naidaus a Bushman leader named Aribib introduced himself,
who, like Krüger in the east, was recognized as the captain of the
Bushmen in the west" (p. 88).

114 "During the journey of Captain Volkmann in the year
1902 to the Okovanggo, the !Kung Bushmen provided extensive
help. Volkmann describes these !Kung in the following manner:
147 'The Bushmen, who are almost totally naked, are very sensitive
to the cold. In the morning each Bushman has a burning log in
372 his hand, which he holds close to his chest. The other hand is
placed on the shoulder with the upper arm pressed close to the
body. At the resting place the log is used immediately to make
481 a fire. When a Bushman walks in front of the horse as leader, he
222 springs with incredible speed, now here and now there, to get a
tuber or root out of the ground. Various berries growing on low
276 shrubs are also very popular. Anything that can serve is used as
a tobacco pipe: kudu horns, calabashes, hollowed fruit of the
Strychnos, old metal cartridge shells, and so forth. Most of all
they like to smoke through water, which is never renewed. When
they run out of tobacco, they boil the bark of a tree in the thick
tobacco water, dry the bark, which has some tobacco taste, and
smoke it' " (p. 180).

101 F. Seiner reports the following concerning the divisions
of this tribe:
131

"The Kung, to the best of our present knowledge, are divided into four groups. The western group seems to extend from the Portuguese border near Kurinkuru along the route via Tschitschib to the Omuramba u Owambo and then seems to be bounded by the latter and in the east by the line Nuragas--Blockfontein. The Karakuwisa group bordering them to the east inhabits the valley of the Omuramba u Omatako from Karakuwisa to Blockfontein during the dry season, and during the rainy season also the steppes 100 to 150 kilometers east and west of the Omuramba and the latter itself up to the Kanovlei. The more southerly group extends from the latter in the Omuramba to around Osondema; we shall call these Nog-au, who have already settled in the central Kalahari and can scarcely be classed with

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/20 cont./

101 131 the half-breed Bushmen, the Otjituo group. The Gam supposedly dwell in the region west of the Omatako valley from Okanakasewa to Omambonde. The most serious complaints are [648] lodged against the western group, which, in the opinion of the [631] District Office, is for the most part under a single head chief, the notorious Namagorub, and is called !Kung-au (that is, !Kung people) by the other Bushmen. The Karakuwisa chiefs, Gnani and Ma, both crippled, are worth mentioning, and further, the leaders of the burglars of Blockfontein, Gachu and his brother Tamburi; no one, however, has as much power as the notorious Namagorub."

According to Vedder, the Bushman tribe of the Masi-[197] Keren live in the forests south of the Otjimpolo Veld. They do [342] not understand the !Kung language; they live communally in [301] large rectangular houses and make incisions in the upper thigh [827] in order to be able to run better. Their arrows have large iron [411] points that are not poisoned.

2. On their Character

157 In character, the Bushmen differ among themselves just as much as the members of any other people. The various types of disposition already point to this fact. In view of the relatively brief period that I was able to spend with the individual Bushmen, I do not want to give too much significance to individual characteristics. The character of a people, if one can speak of such, /21/ manifests itself in the average conventional or traditional kind of reaction in different situations, and, in spite of the physically conditioned differences in character, this kind of reaction nonetheless displays a certain broad uniformity.

Since among the other Bushman tribes my observations [114] were less detailed, I shall report everything worthwhile that I observed here.

When he is confronted with something new, the Bushman at first acts relatively uninterested. He has little curiosity. On the other hand, two !Kung Bushmen did once demand of me a detailed explanation of the motor, and they listened patiently to my account. When an American once gave a phonograph concert, they listened to it with obvious pleasure, but none of

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/22 cont./

181
648
appropriated a number of little trees and planted them in front of his house. On one occasion when he was in town with his Bushmen, the original owner of the trees declared that in the afternoon he was going to see about it. The Bushmen heard this and disappeared. When the two Whites came to the farm, the little trees had disappeared. The Bushmen had run ahead and had hurriedly removed them on their own initiative.

181 The Bushmen are at all times courageous and steadfast people, characteristics which, indeed, their very way of life would produce.

831 [864] The Bushmen strictly avoid talking about sexual matters in the presence of women and children. Just as in general they are a people without imagination, they do not have any form of the more subtle erotic phantasies.

The endless obscene stories that one hears from the Blacks as soon as he has gained their confidence are unknown among the Bushmen.

[535] The sexual element is absent in their religious celebrations, but it finds expression in many of their dances, which imitate the love play of animals.

834 On the whole, their sense of modesty cannot be denied, even though, naturally, they do not have such decent forms of conduct as the genteel Bantu, among whom it is regarded as extremely improper to look at the breasts of the women. [516] The girls and women never sit in the typical squatting position, but rather sit on the ground with the legs crossed.

[576] Although the life of the Bushmen within the encampment is openly in view, those principles that we regard as natural tact are nonetheless observed.

[514] The Bushman performs his necessities at all times out of sight of the others, and love scenes are never enacted in public.

114
124 It is naturally very difficult to learn anything more precise concerning the more intimate details of sexual life

[22 cont.]

114 without compromising oneself. Only old people are suitable
124 informants, since they are no longer eager for renown.

In view of the hard life that the people lead, sexuality,
831 naturally, is not excessively developed. Perverse manipulations
are evidently unknown, since my informants did not even understand questions on this subject.

833 Normal sexual intercourse is usually performed in the
bush during the time between the evening meal and the rising
271 of the moon. Long periods of thirst result in almost total im-
147 potence.

157 Despite all the formality, they have an unbridled
578 temperament which frequently expresses itself in violent emotional explosions over trivial affairs, which then may easily lead to serious consequences since the poisoned arrow is always at hand. For example, I was told the following story: A Bushman worked on a farm for quite a long time and, with his belly fat from eating maize, came to visit his thin companions. His brother made fun of him for being so fat, saying that he could not run any more, whereupon the fat one retorted: "Just the same, I'll live longer than you." After this brief exchange of words, the scrawny brother stabbed the fat one. -- A film com-
157 pany once wanted to make a film among the !Kung who are
648 settled behind Keibeb; the film was to be called: "When the First Whites Came into the Land." The chief of this horde had a [23] pair of old German military trousers as an emblem of his office and when he was requested to take them off, he responded with the declaration that he would take off his trousers only if the White did the same, whereupon he received a box on the ears that put him and his companions in such a rage that the film company preferred to depart in order to avoid a catastrophe.
157 That they can also be quick at repartee is shown by the following story which was repeatedly told to me by Europeans: A Bushman had been accused of poaching. The magistrate asked him: "Don't you know that these animals belong to the king (royal game)?" The Bushman answered: "I saw no 'brand' (property mark)."

As a chief or family head, the Bushman is bossy and
[593] unyielding, which is understandable in view of the rigidity of his whole conception of life. The sick Bushmen lie silent and

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[23 cont.]

105 and in the beyond by his traditional conceptions, and the preserva-
182 tion of this adaptation, in the spiritual as well as in the material realm, is achieved by means of a strict selection of all the cultural goods offered from the outside. This selection is consciously carried out. Put briefly: the Bushmen have hitherto refused higher
[177] economic forms not because they do not possess the ability to handle them, but because they did not want to adopt them. If the material preconditions collapse, then they adopt, step by step or all at once, totally different ways of life, as is shown by their Bantuization in Ovamboland and probably also by the formation of the Hottentot people through the adoption of livestock raising on the part of a number of Bushman tribes. Their average intelli-
[153] gence is no less than that of any other race. Every Bushman knows
[184] the entire spiritual heritage of his tribe.

Of the same Bushmen, F. Schinz (2) says:

[113] 2. F. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Leipzig, 1891.

181 "The Bushman is always faithful to his master and will follow him anywhere without pay; one need not worry about leaving him alone at the wagon and will rarely have to reprimand him for dishonesty. All travelers and hunters unanimously praise
[593] the great affection that exists between parents and children, which goes so far that the father or mother will sacrifice themselves in order to save their child. I was told [24] by the hunter L. that at the Okovanggo he once witnessed a scene in which a young Bushman, who was one of the members of the hunting expedition, was in danger of being trampled to death by an angry elephant that stormed toward him. At the last moment when his paralyzed companions had already given the boy up for lost, his father sprang forth and flung his throwing club at the forehead of the enormous animal. The elephant now turned against his new attacher and furiously crushed him under his feet, giving the son the opportunity to flee."

[114] My observations are fully in accord with those of Dornan (1)

[113] 1. Dornan, Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

[27 cont.]

221 Bushmen shrink to miserable skeletons. Many of them at this
[648] time[1] run to the Blacks or Whites in order to earn something. In
[731] dry years no attention is paid to the kin group boundaries. All
[423] gather around the few water holes that are still open. As soon
as the rain begins, conditions start to improve; the people start
moving out in various directions, not to meet again until several
months later at the time of the veldkost harvest here and there.

7. The Course of Life

584 I shall render in literal translation the account that my informant gave of the way a young man courts a girl:

If a young man wants to marry a girl, he must first speak to her and say: "I love you and want to marry you." If the girl is willing, she says first: "You must wait." Then she goes to her parents and asks them whether they have heard that the boy has spoken to her. The parents then ask whether the girl wants to marry the man. [28] If the girl says, "Yes," then the parents say, "He wants you; he has seen that you are good and hard-working; you may marry." If, however, the young man has thought the matter over and takes back his words, the girl goes to her parents once more, and the boy to his. The latter say: "You wanted it this way; nothing can be done about it." In case the girl definitely gives her consent, however, the young man brings all kinds of little presents and gives them to his future bride, who takes them to her parents. The parents-in-law must now in turn give presents. With the exchange of presents, the
[583] marriage is regarded as legally concluded.

●[114] The hunting test described by Passarge (1) and others is not
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584
[113]
the rule. Some vain girls demand it, and sometimes young men will voluntarily go through with it in order to beat his rivals. This hunting test is carried out in the following manner. The boy goes hunting without weapons and pursues the game (as a rule,

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1. Passarge, Die Buschmänner der Kalahari, 1907.

1 [i.e. The hot season -- Analyst]

!KUNG

[29 cont.]

553 The custom of spitting is undoubtedly original, not a substitute
852 for well water."

551 The father gives his newborn child a name. The boys usually receive animal names, commonly that of the grandfather, and the girls, plant names. Albinos are unknown among the !Kung
[142] tribes visited by me, but a horde of Bushmen with red eyes is supposed to live in the eastern Sand Veld in the region of the
[845] Dussidum. I have never seen twins; they are probably done away with. The children are breast fed for a long time; older infants
853 learn to squeeze the milk out of the breast with their fingers or pull with their teeth on the leathery nipples. The assertion of
847 other travelers that the women kill their children if they are born
[114] before the previous child has been weaned is allegedly not true of the kin groups visited by me. On the other hand, Vedder (1)

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[113] 1. "Zur Vorgeschichte der eingeborenen Völkerschaften von Südwestafrika. I. Die Buschmänner [On the Prehistory of the Native Tribes of Southwest Africa]," by V. Vedder, Journal of the South West Africa Scientific Society, Vol. I, p. 10, 1925-1926, Windhoek, 1927. -- Cf. also Von Zastrow and H. Vedder, *op. cit.*, p. 414.

reports:

"I must mention one other custom which likewise considerably contributes, and may have contributed in prehistoric times, to the Bushmen being so few in number. Custom demands that a child born when the older child of the same mother is not yet three years old be buried alive. This is a gruesome custom. I spoke about it with a racially pure Bushman. My remonstrances did not convince him at all. He explained: 'We Bushmen are poor people. We have no goats and no cows to give our children milk. If the woman brings two children into the world within a period of three years, we don't know what the older child is supposed to live on if the newborn child uses up the mother's milk. It cannot live on the hard veldkost or on tough meat. The teeth are not yet strong enough. If we let the newborn

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[30 cont.] VON ZASTROW

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and Vedder (1) report further:

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, Die Buschmänner, pp. 412-413.

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754
"It is absolutely against the rules to do anything by word or deed to the pregnant woman that might make her angry. Her evil eye in this period is especially dangerous; her angry word or her curse has an even worse effect. Sores, illness, protracted suffering, and death are the consequences of the evil eye or the curse of a pregnant woman.

844 "It is customary to sever the umbilical cord with an instrument only when the blood no longer pulsates. The umbilical cord is not tied off. The afterbirth must be carefully and secretly buried. The life of the child would be greatly endangered if an animal found it or if a feared sorcerer could appropriate a piece of it."

881 As soon as the girls have their first menstruation (/n) (2),

2. Female genitalia (/n-i).

a celebration takes place, but in this tribe I was unable to learn any of the details. On this occasion, the women dance, clap their hands, and sing, "giriri, giriri, giriri, uhu, giriri uhu," and so forth.

Men may not be present at this celebration. In a Hei//om horde neighboring the !Kung, spirits are appealed to in all directions on the occasion of this celebration, so that the girl, as an adult, will find veldkost everywhere.

The existence of a true initiation for boys is denied (3).

[114]
[124]

3. On this point I was either misunderstood or told a falsehood.

There is merely a kind of testing; an older man goes with the candidate or candidates on a hunting expedition. Under the supervision of the older person, the candidate must kill a specimen of large game. The animal is then brought to the sacred fire, at which the

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[50 cont.]

751 concerning the witch doctors:

756 [51] "The sorcerer can protect himself against the malignant spirits of evil deceased persons. After all, he can see them and knows the means for defending himself against them. The ordinary Bushman has no eye for them, but he has a means of keeping them at arm's length. In a small leather bag about as long as a finger [411] he keeps a bow carved out of horn and numerous horn arrows stuck in a shaft of sour grass [Cyperaceae]. If he has occasion to fear evil spirits, he shoots these miniature arrows in all directions with his miniature bow. Now the evil spirits cannot get at him.

"Since in addition he has the belief that an object merely thrown in the direction of a hated person in some mysterious fashion enters that person's body and gravely harms him, he likewise uses his miniature bow to keep a pursuer or enemy off his neck by shooting an arrow, with a curse, in the direction where he imagines his enemy to be, even when he knows that this person is miles away from him."

Whereas I myself and the highly experienced J. Lunkenbein
411 regard these Bushman revolvers as harmless magical instruments,
[114] Seiner has a different opinion:

"The 'revolver' is a definite instrument of murder carried hidden in the modesty apron. The bow is ten centimeters long, the arrows are from ten to 12 centimeters long, and with the former they are put in a little bag adorned with beads. In addition it should be noted that the arrows, which are wrapped crosswise with little bands of tendon, are poisoned by being smeared with [278] little bits from the body of the arrow poison caterpillar. The Bushman ordinarily crushes a few of the caterpillars, which are available only in December and January, living on a few Commiphora shrubs (Commiphora dinteri, C. seineri) or as pupa at the roots under the ground, in a bone vessel with a little wooden stick that is always in the quivers; then he smears the arrow with some sticky stuff, such as wax or resin, whereupon he brushes the arrow with the viscous, slimy caterpillar mass, which, after drying, covers the arrow as a more or less thick brown crust. Up to a distance of seven meters it is possible to puncture the skin, drawing blood, with this miniature arrow; if the arrow tip were not blunt but pointed, like the one placed in the grass shaft, the arrow would

[54 cont.]

771 of various religions have found entry here. Among the Bushmen
177 tribes I visited there is the common belief in a supreme good be-
171 ing, whose name varies. The people described here [55] call the
776 supreme being Χ'u, "the lord" or "the great captain" (1). It is
the same expression that the Cape Hottentot used in speaking to the German traveler Kolbe, with the same significance and pronunciation 705 (2). The name could not have come from the[1]

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[782] 1. According to Vedder, the supreme being is Huwe (Tsumeb). When the first veld fruits ripen, an offering is brought before sunrise. A freshly broken twig is inserted into a piece of wood with a hole bored through it. The people are seated in a circle, and the eldest passes around a tobacco or dacha pipe made out of a tubular bone.

● 114 171 776 2. J. Schapera (The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa, 1930) has critically referred to my observations on this point. In this connection I must note: the "great captain" among the eastern !Kung may rightfully be designated as "supreme being." I have already given his characteristics in my earlier publications.

[104] [194] The spelling is correctly Χ'u. I use Χ' to designate a click that is even lower than "!". It is also found in other words, such as Χ'Ame = lion. Since not all publishers provide this character, I have sometimes been forced to write "Khu" or "Chu." This word, which the !Kung, too, translate as "lord" or "great captain," was already found, as Schapera indicates, among the Cape Hottentot in 1705 as Khourou = "Supreme Ruler" and "Great Chief" or "Great Captain"; Kolbe gives a quite analogous citation a little later, and Hahn reports of one old Nama, "The people say,

[1] [CONTINUES ON p. 108 - ANALYST]

!KUNG

[55 cont.]

171
776
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if it is thundering, the Lord (Khub, i.e., Tsui//Goab) is speaking; he is scolding them" [cited in English], Schapera, ibid., p. 381.

[174]

The belief in a great captain was therefore common to the !Kung Bushmen and the Cape Hottentot, and the great age of the reports from the Cape exclude the possibility that missionary influence was at work here. Just as among the !Kung, this belief is apparently of very great antiquity among Miss Bleek's Naron and not simply taken over from the Christian Hottentot. In Ovamboland the concept X'u merges with Huwe, and I believe that J. Schapera, too, regards Huwe, Chuwe, and X'u as identical. The fact that the eastern !Kung have the belief in a supreme being was not discovered by me; rather, this discovery was made as early as 1910 by H. Vedder.

Everyone must be struck by the fact that there is substantial agreement between the reports concerning the heavenly house that I took down among the eastern !Kung and the data that H. Vedder supplies concerning the /Gamab of the Honigkaffir of the Otavi mountains. To be sure, these regions are also close to each other geographically. The question now arises: did the !Kung take this doctrine over from the Honigkaffir, as Schapera appears to assume, or is the reverse the case? Among the Bergdama of the central region, where I was able to carry out extensive studies, especially in the reservation of Okombahe, there is scarcely anything of these conceptions of the Honigkaffir. The Bergdama are a Negro tribe that has completely lost its original culture and language and for a long

!KUNG

[55 cont.]

114 time had a dependent relationship with the
171 Bushmen, whose quite miserable imitators
776 they had in part become. Even today Bergdama
who want to become witch doctors go from
Windhoek and Okombahe to the !Kung in
order to learn there. If the conceptions of
the Honigkaffir reported by H. Vedder were
indeed ancient Negro cultural traditions, then
it should surely be possible to find parallels
and, at least in the names referring to the
beyond, traces of the old language. Almost
always among the Bantu the world of the beyond
lies under the earth, whereas among the
Khoisan it is in the sky. For all these reasons,
I draw the conclusion that the Honigkaffir
have taken over the doctrine of /Gamab from
[177] the !Kung. The expression Erob or Elotse,
which is to be found among several Bushman
tribes, undoubtedly goes back to Christian
Hottentot influence. The two-fold names
of the supreme being among various groups in
Ovamboland, on the other hand, allows one
to conclude that here only one new name for
a well-known conception found entry, and,
[824] to be sure, with such intensity that the Hei//om,
at the Etosha Pan, for example, name their
most important medicinal root the Erob root.
Moreover, just as among the Honigkaffir,
among the Hei//om of the Etosha Pan, too,
it is /Gamab who sends thunder and lightning
and who kills people with shooting stars. J.
Schapera recognizes that the conception of
Huwe, Thora, and the mantis as creator, as
the giver of rain and success in hunting, and
as the protector of human beings is common
to all Bushmen (ibid., p. 195) and also has
its analogue among the Hottentot. He seems
to regard this being as a rain god, however.

[55 cont.]

114 //Gaua, whose name varies, stands opposite
171 him as an antagonist who does harm to human
776 beings. Schapera believes that the original
[775] designation //Gaua stood for the spirits of the
dead. This is largely correct. My researches
in various places, however, show that all
kinds of noncorporeal beings are understood
by the term //Gaua, in other words, spirits
in our sense, and immaterial forces of all
kind. The great captain, of course, is regarded
as actually corporeal by the !Kung.
P. W. Schmidt, on the other hand, has regarded
this //Gaua as the original god in
heaven. A comparison of the facts of the
history of religion may support this view.

114 If I understand Schapera correctly, we
776 agree that a benign high deity is indeed present
771 among the Bushmen, but one that he does
not want to designate as the supreme being.
I maintain, however, that this being must be
so designated in accordance with general usage.
[174] The peoples of the Khoisan group, according
to the evidence of the prehistoric finds, have
an active history behind them; the most diverse
races live on in them, and their culture
in its optimal adaptation to environmental
conditions is to be regarded as a residual culture.
It is therefore self-evident that their
world view should have a syncretistic character,
especially since religious ideas are cultural
elements with definite tendencies to diffuse
widely. Like all human beings, the
Bushmen and other primitives have thoughts
that are fundamentally the same as ours.
[773] Even the Bushman has a distinct need to discover
causality, but this need is felt less
with regard to causal or conditional explanations
for given conditions and more with regard

!KUNG

[55 cont.]

114 to processes. Hence, among the primitives
776 we find carefully thought out conceptions
771 concerning the origin of the world of ani-
773 mals, human beings, and plants more rarely than a clear answer to the question concerning the originator of the actual processes, that is, of rain, storms, sickness, death, and, generally, good and bad fortune in human life. This originator is conceived as either a human-like being above the clouds or ancestral spirits. The religious need or the need for protection is also generally oriented in terms of
114 these two conceptions. The greater the signifi-
771 cance accorded to the benign ancestral spirits
776 and the extent to which they can be influenced by magical practices, the smaller the significance of the heavenly being conceived as a general causa officiens. J. Schapera will doubtless agree with me whan I say that, in contrast to the Bantu, the need for a causal explanation and the religious need for protection are oriented around Thora, Huwe, /Gamab, and others, and that among the Bushmen this heavenly being therefore plays the role that we impute to a "good supreme being." By way of a critique of the Bushmen's conceptions it should be emphasized that the Bushmen, like all primitives, systematize their religious conceptions only to the extent that this is necessary for the satisfaction of their religious and causal-explanatory needs. We shall thus encounter varying degrees of consistency in the world picture from group to group, even from individual to individual, and no investigator will be able to discover a thoroughly organized system of Bushman religion since such does not exist. Whatever I could get from my

MASARWA

Chapter 7

The Bushmen of the North

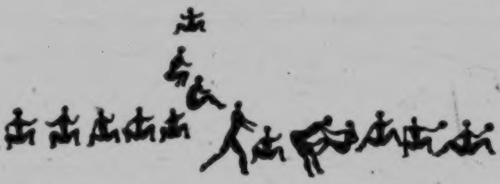
114 Our best information concerning the Masarwa comes from Dornan (1) and Holub (2). In what follows an outline sketch will be given of the culture of this tribe, based upon these two authors.

[113] 1. Dornan, Pygrines and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

2. Holub, Die Masarwa.

342 According to Dornan, the Masarwa once preferred to live in caves, where their ancestors had made paintings. [245] The Bushmen in the Wankie and Ngami districts have plaited mats of grass or reed, with which they cover their windscreens. Sometimes they make a kind of roof covered with grass; otherwise they have ordinary windscreens.

[532]
[172]



[113] Fig. 21a. Representation of a Curing Scene. In the background, the female doctor who serves as oracle. (Eastern Cape Province. From J. P. Johnson, The Prehistoric Period in South Africa, 1910.)

322
411 For the wood of the bow the Masarwa use very straight little tree trunks. After the bark is removed, they are tied to a straight tree and left to dry. The wood is then given its final drying over the fire and is placed in water so that it will not splinter. The middle of the bow is also commonly wound with tendons. The bow is often greased and never unstrung. The finished bow is smoothed with a rough stone.

!KUNG

[58 cont.]

775 From there they make their rounds. They always return to their
769 graves. Hence, a Bushman always makes a detour around a grave. He does not point at a grave with his finger, and he does not call to a companion: 'There is a grave!' A great detour is made around the area where there is a grave. When a Bushman unexpectedly passes a grave, he puts a stone on it. That is a greeting for the dead person. In so doing, one makes the grave more secure against wild animals."

769 From the region of Foxhof I have the following informa-
775 tion to add:

"The Gauab that arises from the flesh of the corpse remains seated by the grave. When a relative passes by and the Gauab is sitting out in the open, the Gauab thinks: I know this person well; why is he passing by here without giving me any water. Then the Gauab becomes angry and makes him sick. Then when the doctors sing, they recognize what the trouble is and say: Today you passed by the grave of N. and did not give anything. Tomorrow morning very early you must take water and
775 an ostrich egg and place them by the grave. Such a Gauab also
787 goes hunting, kills game, makes a fire, cuts open the game, takes the fat, and brings it to the doctors while they are singing.
[756] The Gauab, whom the other people cannot see, sits down at some distance from the dancers. The doctor sees him, however, and goes to the Gauab. The latter tells him where the game lies, and the doctor tells this to the other people, who fetch the game and praise the Gauab.

775 "The stars are the campfires of the Gauab.

"The Gauana take the souls that they have stolen to their village and then back to the grave. The people often hear a voice in the veld; this is the Gauab calling, and on their way they find a piece of dead game. When the Gauab is out hunting and has gone too far from his grave, he must sleep in a tree. Some of the souls stolen by the Gauab are brought to the captain of the Gauana. The souls that are taken there again become actual persons up above with the captain of the rain. The others, however, are the little Gauab who go hunting here."

[114]
776 The observations made by Bleek (3) 50 years ago seem to be especially significant.

3. W. H. J. Bleek and L.C.Lloyd,

[113]

!KUNG

[55 cont.] WHATEVER I COULD GET FROM MY
114 individual informants I took down with the
771 exactness of a trained scientist, faithful to
776 the letter and with due regard for all pre-
[124] cautions. From these notations I have drawn the inevitable conclusion that a benign supreme being is a reality in their world picture.

776 surrounding Hei//om tribes, [56] for they use the word Somseb.
171 We should sooner think of Huwe. Huwe or Hue was what the !Kung Bushmen of Tsumeb examined by Vedder called the supreme being. I also know the expression Chuwa from the Bushmen of Ukuambi. This supreme being is conceived of in human form;
776 it looks like a Bushman and also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky
772 in a house that has two floors; his wife, whose name is unknown, lives on the lower floor, as well as many children. The souls
[775] of the deceased live on the upper floor. "The house" (it is supposed to be similar to, but not entirely like a Bushman windscreen) "is hairy on the outside, like a caterpillar." There are various things up there, but only a single house, namely, that of the captain. Honey, crickets, and fat flies are there in great abundance. The great captain lives on them. In addition, there are a great many butterflies. The following are regarded as the
776 functions of this supreme being.

1. In the opinion of some, the great captain made the sun, moon, and everything. In the opinion of others, the highest of the spirits, /Nawa, did this.

2. The great captain calls the doctors to their calling and gives them supernatural power.

3. He is the lord of the rain and the lightning.

4. Through the highest of the spirits he sends luck on the hunt or on the search for veldkost.

5. When someone thinks or speaks ill of him, he punishes
[688] him with lightning. He is not concerned about the other activities of his Bushman children, however, unless someone swears falsely.
645 The Kung have a regular oath, and one of my informants reported
776 the following to me:

When a group goes hunting and one of the participants is

≠AUIN
NOGAU
NARON

[68 cont.]

1. Birth and Childhood

844 Among the ≠Auin, the husband of a woman in childbed slings the string of his bow around her stomach, but he is not present at the birth itself. The cord is severed with the tip of a reed splinter.

844 Among the Naron and Nogau, the delivery proceeds as it does among the !Kung; an old woman usually provides assistance, however.

845 Twins (Hoi-holi) are not desired; among the Nogau one of them is killed.

[553] 844 Among the Nogau, the father gives the child its name. There the child has its umbilical cord severed by means of a sharp quartz splinter. A woman in childbed may not eat blood and head meat. Until the child is able to sit up, the husband [833] may not cohabit with the mother. The latter custom is also found among the Betschuana. Nogau children are not allowed to eat 262 the flesh of the wildcat and of two birds (tsugnussi and /gui). ●[114] Kaufmann has made some observations concerning children's 524 games; Bleek also provides some data:

Among the ≠Auin little bows and arrows serve as children's toys. The same applies to the Naron and Nagau [sic]. Stilts [481] are known among the Auin and are used by men and boys. Concerning children's games among the Naron, Miss Bleek reports: 524

The Game of the Big Water Snake

A boy crawls on his stomach to a small pile of sand which is supposed to represent the waterhole. At some distance from it, the children sit in a row, one behind the other, in such a way that each one sits between the legs of the one behind him; he puts his hands on the shoulder of the person in front of him. The biggest child [69] always sits at the front, the smallest at the back. They sing a song that in part is no longer intelligible. (Probably in the children's language.) This big "snake" now moves very slowly around the waterhole, while the water snake from time to time throws sand on it; then the others withdraw. At the end the snake catches one from the row and "eats it." I

≠AUIN
NARON

[74 cont.]

773 him. They go to their huts which are under the horizon in the
& 21 west. At night or during the day, respectively, they go back to
their huts in the east; one can hear them but cannot see them."

● 114 Kaufmann was unable to discover anything concrete con-
776 cerning the high gods of the ≠Auin. Concerning the Naron, Bleek
776 relates that a curious mixture of religious conceptions has come
about. A central position is occupied by Hise or Hyesa, who is
designated as !Khuba or !X'uba by the adult men. The old people
knew nothing about this. The Nama designate !Khub as master
or lord, and this word is used by a number of missionaries for
Christ. These elders maintain that this concept has been adopted
[777] from the Nama. Formerly they only knew Hise, who lived in the
east. Hise is evidently the same as Heitsi Aibib (literally, "the
first tree").

The Naron relate that in olden times both the trees and the
773 animals were human beings who were transformed by Hise into
their present shapes. Then Hise called the chiefs of the Whites
and Blacks and said to them: "Take cows and goats and live with
them." But to the first chiefs of the Bushmen he said: "Take
the antelopes and live on them; make traps and hunt and live in
the bush."

The expression Huwu or Huwuba is known and is supposed to
776 designate the great captain of the men in the north. The details
given by Miss Bleek concerning //Gauwa are interesting. In the
opinion of the Naron and ≠Auin, //Gauwa is the spirit of a de-
[775] ceased person. Medicine men can also see these spirits; the
[787] women can only hear them. Many a woman declared that only
men who had gone through the initiation ceremony and who have
two scars between the eyebrows can become //Gauwa. A strong,
howling wind is also designated as //Gauwa, however. A few in-
dividuals also believe in a chief spirit by this name, who lives
near Hise in the east and to whose house the spirits return by day.
Some designate //Gauwa as the younger brother of Hise; others
identify him with the latter.

The Naron put both masculine and feminine endings on the
word Hise. Among the ≠Auin he appears during their dances at

≠ AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[78 cont.]

000 it with the fingers. [Fig. 29 appears here.]

224 [79] The lion is neither eaten nor hunted. The jackal and
262 leopard are eaten, as is the liver of the latter. Baboons are not
825 eaten, because they were formerly Bushmen.

304 The line of tattooing between the eyebrows make people
302 into leopards among the Nogau. The Naron smear themselves
with red and black color. The other incisions and tattooing are
made purely for adornment.

825 Among the Naron, millepedes are regarded as creatures
756 of Hise, and only doctors may touch them and make medicine
of them. Among the Nogau and ≠Auin there are magical bones
787 that are used to predict the future. The Naron also believe that
[172] the rock engravings stem from //gauwa.

Among the Auin it is forbidden to eat hyena flesh, and
262 likewise the flesh of the shabrack jackal because it is a dog.

224
[114]
[113]
The following important data supplied by Gentz (1) should be added:

"I have repeatedly found Bushman arrows on which the point, usually made of bone (for the most part ostrich bone), was made of wood. The game sling, reproduced in Figure 29, is constructed as follows: A strong string, four to five millimeters thick, which at one end terminates in a simple loop, is fastened at the other end to a flexible young tree or branch that is bent far over. A small, thinner string with a transverse stick is attached at the loop end. The string is placed around a small post driven into the ground at an angle, and it is prevented from slipping off by means of a flat piece of wood buried under the ground and planted against the free end of the transverse stick; the sling is placed in a circle on the ground over the flat piece of wood. The game, which follows its customary track to the

1. "Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften [Some Contributions to Knowledge of the Southwest African Tribes]," Globus, Vol. 83, 1903.

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[124]

test this factor and eventually we learned that there are two aspects to the /Kung system of kin terminology. In one terms are applied according to the biological position of the persons; in the other terms are applied because persons are classified with others by having the same names, in ways this paper will explain. The factor of the name has resulted in kin terms being applied by persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, but who are considered to be related through the factor of the name in what we call the name-relationship.

114 ●
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Miss Bleek in her paper on ' Bushman Terms of Relationship '[1] has recorded /Kung terms. Students of the subject interested in comparing her paper with this will find them in agreement to a considerable extent, but Miss Bleek's paper does not go so deeply into the terminology as this does nor does it bring out the significance of the factor of the name.[2]

128

Our material on /Kung kin terminology is presented in two parts. (I) The first part (A) deals with terms applied to consanguineous kin, and explains the factor of the name and the way the application of terms is extended through the factor of the name to persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, in what we call the name-relationship; and (B) deals with terms applied to affines. (II) The second part deals with certain aspects of behaviour related to kin terminology, touching briefly upon marriage prohibitions and preferences from the point of view of terminology. It deals more fully with the joking relationship, an aspect of behaviour which relates closely to terminological categories. The paper finally touches upon the way the name-relationship serves as an amalgamating factor within a whole region among people who have no larger organized social units than autonomous bands, small ones of 10–15 persons up to large ones of 40–60 persons, composed of consanguineous kin and their affines.

[184
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Space does not permit here a description of the composition of bands, but we hope in a future publication to give data on the family and bands, on hunting and veldkos territories, marriage, residence, settlement patterns, and on the behaviour among kin in forming hunting and gathering parties, arrow-lending, meat-sharing, gift-giving, &c.

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[1] D. F. Bleek, 'Bushman Terms of Relationship', *Bantu Studies*, vol. ii (1923–6), pp. 57–70.

[2] Miss Bleek (ibid.) sometimes gives the descriptive phrase in place of, or in addition to, the term, as if we should say father's brother or mother's brother instead of uncle. For instance, *ba siŋ* is a descriptive phrase meaning father's younger brother or younger sister. There are differences of spelling. We should like to follow Miss Bleek's spelling, but we put down as best we could what we heard and cannot change over to her spelling because in the different areas the Bushmen's pronunciation may possibly have varied slightly. There are some terms given by Miss Bleek which we did not hear in the Nyae Nyae region. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae do not use the term *tsau* for Br. We did not hear *||ge*, nor *soiŋ||ge*, nor *tsa* as a prefix to *siŋ*. Otherwise the terms we record are recognizable as the same terms which Miss Bleek records. Miss Bleek, on the other hand, does not record all the terms which we record as used in the Nyae Nyae area. The principal difference lies, we think, in her not taking into account the factor of the name. We think she had an inkling of there being such a factor among the /Kung she worked with, for she says they had a word */ku* which she thought meant ' kinsman ' or 'namesake '. In any case, she does not show all the terms which in the Nyae Nyae region might be applied to grandparents, grandchildren and collaterals on both the paternal and maternal sides. A detailed comparison of the papers would show several examples, but one will suffice to illustrate the point. Miss Bleek records the terms for FaBr, *tsu*, and MoBr, *txam||ga*, giving the impression that the /Kung system makes a terminological distinction between the paternal and maternal siblings, whereas we found that in the Nyae Nyae area both terms, *tsu* and *txam||ga*, might be used for either FaBr or MoBr, and, besides, that the sibling term, elder Br, might also be used for FaBr or MoBr, as will be explained.

[113]

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Here are the parent–child terms:[1]

Fa	ba (bʰa)[2]
Mo	dai[3] (tʰai)
Mo (voc.)	aiya (āiya)
So	/ha (ŋ/ʰa)
Da	≠khai (ŋ≠kxai)

These terms are subject to no modification. They are used by a person for no other relatives than his biological parents or offspring and no other terms can be applied in these relationships.

Sibling terms are as follows:

elder Br	!go (!o)
elder Si	!kwi (!kwi)
younger Br or Si	tsĩ (tsĩ)

The above terms are used for both full and half siblings. These terms are fixed to the sibling relationship in the sense that no other terms replace them under any condition; but, unlike the parent–child terms which are applied to no other relationship, the sibling terms are under certain circumstances extended to other relationships than that of biological sibling.

The generational terms are as follows:

Applied to males	*Applied to females*
tsu (tsũ)	//ga (g//ʰa)
!gu!na (!uŋ!ʰa)	tũn (txũŋ)
tun!ga w.s. (txuŋ.g!a) alternate to !gu!na	

The terms are reciprocal. If a male ego applies the term *tsu* to a man, he is termed *tsu* by that man. Or, if a male ego terms a woman *//ga*, she terms him *tsu*. It is the same with the *!gu!na–tũn* pair.

The above statements are subject to the qualification that, when using these terms, the older person invariably uses a diminutive form for the younger person. We shall list the diminutives here, and then, to avoid being cumbersome, omit them henceforth throughout the text. The diminutive is expressed by adding the suffix *ma*,

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[1] The spelling of the Bushman terms used in this paper is an approximation. We represented the Bushman sounds as we heard them, as nearly as we could without using symbols except for the clicks. The four clicks are symbolized as follows: dental /, alveolar ≠, alveolar palatal !, and lateral //.

[2] Mr. Ernst Westphal of the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London, when he visited our expedition at Gautscha Pan, took down the terms in phonetic symbols as /Kung informants pronounced them. We give his symbols in parentheses the first time the term is given. We wish to express our gratitude to him.

[3] Mr. Westphal spells the term for Mo with a *t* (tʰai), as does Miss Bleek (*tai*). Professor Clement M. Doke, in his outline of the phonetics of the language of the /Kung, *Bantu Studies*, vol. ii (1923–6), pp. 130–65, on p. 150 spells it *ʔai*. We feel apologetic about insisting on *dai*, but we thought we heard the voiced sound *d*. We wondered if the *d* derived from *di* which means female and occurs in the term *di!gama* which is applied to persons who have the same name as one's mother (cf. p. 9).

553 7. Names are occasionally changed.

[551] 8. Nicknames are in common use. They are usually descriptive of physical characteristics, such as Gow Umbilicus or Gow Beard.

553 601 It must be kept in mind, as the description of the homonymous method of applying terms proceeds, that the /Kung distinguish between being named for, and having the same name as, a person. When one is named for someone, one is brought into the kinship constellation of that person. Merely fortuitously having the same name as someone does not do this to the same degree. We shall at first limit the description to situations where one is *named for* another.

A child is, as we have said, never named for a parent, nor is a child named for a sibling (though they may have the same name). In these categories of relationship, therefore, the homonymous method of applying terms is not operative. In other categories of relationship, however, when a person is named for another, he is, with respect to ego, terminologically taken out of his biological category and classified in the category of the person for whom he is named. Ego applies a term to him according to his homonymous classification.

There are three categories, with respect to ego, into which persons may be classified by their names. (1) The parent–child category: Although ego is never named for his parent, some of his relatives will be. (Some of his nephews and nieces, for example, would certainly be named for ego's Fa or Mo.) When this occurs, ego applies a term to that person which classifies the person with the parent of ego's for whom he or she was named. The terms are *tsu* applied to males, *//ga* applied to females. The terms *ba* and *dai* are applied, as we have said, only to the biological parents. The terms *tsu* and *//ga* are the terms applied to persons in generations adjacent to ego's (i.e. his parents' generation, cf. Diagram 1, p. 6), and are the terms used to classify persons terminologically in the parent category. The same terms would be used for persons named for ego's offspring who again would be terminologically classified as in adjacent generations with respect to ego. (2) The sibling category: If a person is named for ego's sibling, ego classifies him or her terminologically with that sibling and applies the sibling term, i.e. */go* (elder Br), *!kwi* (elder Si) or *tsī* (younger Br or younger Si). (3) Ego's category: We consider that the third category is basically ego's category and that it includes persons who are classified by name or generation with ego. Persons may be classified in this category by being named for ego, or for ego's spouse, who is of the same terminological generation as ego. The person for whom ego is named and the spouse of that person are in this category. The way people are classified within it will be brought out as the description proceeds, but more information must first be given about the terms associated with it, namely: *!gu!na* (*tun!ga* w.s.) and *tũn*.

The term *!gu!na*, unlike any of the other terms, so far as we know, is a translateable word. *!Gu*[1] means name, *!na* means big or old. The diminutive which derives from the term is *!guma*, small or young name. As terms *!gu!na* and *!guma* always occur modified with the augmentative or diminutive suffix, never simply as *!gu*, the word for name.

[114 194] [1] This is undoubtedly the word which Miss Bleek heard as */ku* (cf. 'Bushman Terms of Relationship', p. 62). It seemed to us particularly difficult to determine, when a word began with the alveolar palatal click, whether the consonant release was voiced or unvoiced. We have two opinions here, Miss Bleek's */ku* and our */gu*. Mr. Westphal hears no consonant, i.e. */ũ*.

553 601 ego or his kin or affines. We shall refer to this aspect of the kinship system as the name-relationship.

Among name-relatives, as among consanguineous relatives, it is the biologically older person who classifies the younger with respect to his (the older's) kinship constellation, using the diminutive form of the term for the younger person. The younger person reciprocates.

551 553 601 One of the factors in the name-relationship is an ancestral list of names to which terms are linked. Each /Kung has his own individual list to learn, taught to him by his parents and his *!gu!na*. No one could tell us exactly how the list is compiled, but the theory which lies behind the list is that there were among ego's forbears persons whose names required certain terms. (One surmises they were great-grandparents and their siblings and the siblings of grandparents, &c. or perhaps still earlier generations.) Name-relatives who have these names may have had some distant consanguineous connexions. Ego no longer knows, but the old people knew, and in following their teaching ego knows he is following his proper homonymous pattern. Every informant had such a list and told us what term he linked with every name we knew. Some had more than one term linked with a name. ≠Toma used the term *tũn* for women named Khwova who came from the Gum region and */kwi* for Khwovas from the north. His parents, he said, told him to do this.

553 601 There is a system of applying terms to name-relatives. Ego is in the place of first priority in the sense that invariably the term *!gu!na* is applied to any name-relative having the same name as himself. Furthermore, ego applies terms to the Fa, Mo, So, Da, sibling and spouse of a *!gu!na* who is a name-relative having the same name as himself, as he does in the case of the person for whom he is named. However, this is carried no further. He does not apply terms to persons named for these name-relatives and he does not apply terms to the nuclear family and spouse of a person he terms *!gu!na* unless the *!gu!na* has the same name as himself.

The term *tsu* is invariably applied to any male name-relative who has the same name as ego's Fa, *//ga* or *di!guma* to any female name-relative with the same name as ego's Mo.

[114 551] There are gaps in our knowledge at this point; confusion in the data was not resolved. We think, but are not certain, that next in order comes the ancestral list, taking precedence over siblings, children and spouses as a source of terms to apply to name-relatives. We think the terms applied to name-relatives derive mainly from the ascending generations, except *!gu!na*, applied to persons with the same name as ego's. To illustrate, take a man named Bo. Unless Bo is ego's name, or the name of ego's Fa, ego would use for Bo the term which was linked to the name Bo on his ancestral list. We think that, even if Bo were the name of ego's Br or the Hu of a female ego, the sibling or spouse term would not take precedence over the term linked with the name Bo on the ancestral list. We are certain that the ancestral list does take precedence over ego's children as a source of terms for name-relatives.

[551] We have been assuming that the name occurs on the ancestral list. If a person should come along whose name was not on his ancestral list, but was the same as one of ego's consanguineous kin or affines, ego would apply the term to that person which he applies to the consanguineous kin or affine. (In the case of an affine ego would use a kin term corresponding to the affinal term, not the affinal

N!OW

LORNA MARSHALL

821 *N!ow*[1] is a belief concerning rain and cold which is held by the /Kung Bushmen in the region around Nyae Nyae in South West Africa.

132 About ten inches of rain falls in an average year in this part of the Kalahari Desert and sinks into the deep sands. There is no run-off in streams and there are few water 137 holes. The rain is sufficient to support a covering vegetation of grass, shrubs, and scrubby trees. The vegetation includes numerous edible roots, tubers, leaves, fruits, and nuts, for which the Afrikaans language provides the convenient word *veldkos*.

105 821 The /Kung, the only inhabitants of the interior of this particular region, are nomadic hunters and gatherers. If the rains are poor and the veldkos dry and sparse, the people suffer. Rain, they say, is life-giving; sun is death-giving.

132 Summer is the season of the ' big rains ' in the western Kalahari. ' Little rains '—a few scant showers—may fall in September, October, and November. The ' big rains ' begin in late December or January and continue into March. The summer storms are awesome. Every day the winds drive monstrous clouds around the sky, which domes a horizon as flat as the sea. They breed the storms. Lightning streaks from them. Thunder roars and rumbles. The earth sucks in their deluges, hissing.

821 The /Kung say that thin clouds which give no rain are male. They call them */now*.[2] The big rain clouds are female. White ones they call *//ga kwe disi*—*//ga* means cloud or rain, *disi* means females.[3] The enormous grey clouds with rain pouring from them the /Kung call */kwesi* (zebras), because they are so fleet and, though a person may think he is far from the rain, it comes swiftly and is on him. We have seen Bushmen, caught without shelter in the storms, shivering so that their teeth chattered, saying they could perish in such rain.

532 Rain itself is male and female, */ga !go* and */ga di*. The men one day drew in the sand the spoor of male and female rain. Male rain spoor was made with all five fingers held stiffly and plunged deeply into the sand, to make big holes. Male rain breaks the trees and beats down the fruits, the men told us. It is (like) a fight, and may kill a person. Thunder and lightning accompany it, and sometimes hail. Female rain has tiny drops and does not spoil anything; it beautifies the trees and the grass and makes the veldkos grow. Its spoor was made by smoothing out a place in the sand and covering it closely with tiny dots. Gao said a person (anyone) may speak to the rain, saying, 532 ' You are doing very well ', or, ' Fall silently. Don't make such a noise. Don't be

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[1] We wish to thank both Dr. Mary Douglas and Professor I. Schapera for reading the manuscript about *n/ow* and for making several helpful suggestions.

[2] The /Kung language has four clicks: / is the symbol for the dental click, ≠ for the alveolar, / for the alveolar palatal, and // for the lateral.

114 192 197 [3] We did not know how to translate *kwe*, which occurs very oft[illegible] It seemed sometimes to be a sort of article[illegible]d not work on it especially. We regret not having done so because Miss Bleek, in her *Bushman Dictionary* (American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut, 1956), records in the Auen or //K"au-//en language, which she says is very like the /Kung and which she places south of the /Kung, the phrase */ga -k"wisi*, meaning rain's hair or cloud. In /Kung */ga* and *//ga* both mean rain. We now wonder if *kwe* should be *kwi* and if it means hair in the phrase *//ga kwe disi*.

821 171 192 similar to the /Kung word *n/ow* in sound but refers to a different belief. In the /Kung belief, *n/ow* influences rain. The Hottentot concept of */nau* supposes a state of being which exists when people are in periods of crisis in their lives. Professor Schapera[1] says of the state of */nau*, summarizing Mrs. Hoernlé's analysis:

> All periods of crisis in the life of a Hottentot involve his separation from his usual surroundings, his preparation for a new group in society, and, finally, his reception into this group. A person in such a crisis is exposed to danger on every side; he must retire from contact with other people, and take special care of himself. But he is also a danger to other people, and more especially to the animals and other living things upon which the community depends for its livelihood. Hence he is secluded, and must abstain scrupulously from his usual tasks.
>
> Such a person is said to be */nau*. It is essential that he be initiated, as it were, with the least possible delay into that group of his people already possessing the new characteristic he has acquired, in order that he may have a normal place in the community once more.

Remarried persons or persons newly widowed are examples.

171 796 821 Mrs. Hoernlé records a rain ceremony of the Hottentots which has several elements in common with the /Kung belief about *n/ow*. The Hottentot ceremony is called the *guri≠ab* (yearly killing).[2] Professor Schapera's[3] description of the *guri≠ab*, which follows, is, as he says, based mainly on Mrs. Hoernlé's account.

> . . . It [the ceremony] is held, if possible, on the banks of a stream, and if there is no stream near by, then a trench is dug to simulate one. When the old men judge that the summer rains are due (about November or December), they tell the chief that it is time to hold the yearly feast, and he sends word to all the outlying families, and decides the time and spot for the ceremony.
>
> Each family contributes according to its means, all bringing milk, and those who can, some female animal, a cow or a ewe, which must be pregnant. The feast cannot be held at all without one pregnant animal. . . . fires are lit to cook the meat for the feast. In addition a fire is lit on the banks of the stream for the special part of the ceremony. The animals are killed and cut up very carefully, so as to preserve intact the uteri, which are kept till after the feast. Eating apparently goes on most of the time until all the food is finished.
>
> When the fire at the riverside is ready, and a channel has been made to the river or stream, the old men of the tribe who are good at prophesying take the uteri, hold them over the fire and pierce them with sticks so that the uterine fluid flows directly through the fire and down the river. At the same time milk in plenty and fat from the animals are thrown on the fire, so that liquid really flows, and great clouds of smoke rise into the sky. Meanwhile all the people round gather together in a great tribal dance, calling on *Tsui ǁGoab* to send the rain in plenty, to make the ground soft and the grass green, so that they may have plenty of food for the year.

The uterine fluid, the fire and clouds of smoke rising into the sky, and the association of the ceremony with rain are the elements in the Hottentot belief which are similar to the elements in the /Kung Bushman belief of *n/ow*. But, though there are these interesting common elements, the /Kung concept differs largely from the Hottentot *guri≠ab*.

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[1] Schapera, I., *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, New York, 1951, pp. 256–7.

[2] Hoernlé, Agnes W., 'A Hottentot Rain Ceremony', *Bantu Studies*, i, No. 2 (May 1922), pp. 3–4.

[3] Schapera, op. cit., p. 379.

X137 There were more species of grass, and, particularly on the dunes, more of
136 trees and shrubs. The fauna was also richer for there were buffalo and
elephant and many waterfowl in addition to the animals found in the
Kalahari.

197 . The Bushman languages represented in this paper are classified
[128] according to Bleek's *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*
(1929). They are !hɔ:, the closely interrelated ||ganakwe, |gikwe and
Naron, and Auen (see also Bleek, 1928: 60-64).

!hɔ: is a member of the southern group, in which the lip click is
found, and a dialect of what Bleek calls |nu||en, S6 in her system of
[194] classification. Bleek's spelling is !kɔ:, but I heard the click aspirated.
It is spoken in the neighbourhood of Lehututu, which is 150 miles south
of Ghanzi.

||ganakwe is spoken to the east of Ghanzi, and has been studied by Maingard (1957).

The centre of the |gikwe language appears to be in the country to
the south-east of Ghanzi. It is a member of Bleek's Central group, closely
allied to Naron and easily understood by Naron speakers although many
[194] words are different. A curious feature of the phonetics is the occurrence
of the ejective lateral explosive followed immediately by the velar glottal
affricate (see Cole, 1955: 23 and Beach 1938: 222-223). The first sound
is not mentioned in any papers that I have seen on the Bushman languages.

[114] Naron is Bleek's C2. There is an error which is liable to confuse one on page 3 of her publication, where the languages of the Naron and Masarwa of Tati have been transposed. Naron should be under C2 and the Masarwa language under C1. A grammatical sketch of Naron is given in Bleek's paper of 1928.

Auen, Bleek's N1, is the eastern form of the !khũ linguistic group and is spoken round Gautscha Pan. It was studied by Maingard when he was a member of this same expedition and an account of it is given in his paper of 1957. In this paper I refer to it as Eastern !khũ.

124 The work done in the Kalahari was done through interpreters, and
much of that in the northern area likewise, except towards the end of the
expedition when through closer contact with the Bushmen for a longer
time than in the south, I was able to acquire a smattering of the Eastern
!khũ language, enough to ask straightforward questions and to understand
straightforward replies. The phonetics of the Bushman languages are a
study in themselves, and I do not claim that my spellings and indications
104 of the tones are exact. In the orthography I have followed Bleek (1929)
194 with the following exceptions:—

1. I have placed the n first when it is combined with a click. It has been the convention to place the n after the click in the written Khoisan languages, the argument being that the n and the click are pronounced simultaneously (Meinhof, 1909: 5). To my ear the n is the first sound in the combination.
2. Bleek does not mention the voiced h, which sometimes follows a nasalised click. I have accordingly followed Doke (1936: 448) and used the symbol ɦ.

For easy reference, the symbols I have used are listed at the end of this introductory chapter.

As the spellings of the Bushman names on my herbarium specimens 128 are from field notes, they are often different from the spellings given in this paper, which was done after I had had the opportunity of consulting the authors I have mentioned. It will be noticed that many of the plants do not have the full set of Bushman names. The main reason is that we were not in contact with the Eastern !khû speakers until we had passed Ghanzi, and lost contact successively with the |gikwe, ||ganakwe and !hɔ̃: speakers as the expedition drew to a close. Other reasons are that my field notes were sometimes inadequate, that I forgot to ask, and that some [184] plants appeared restricted to certain areas and were not known to all the groups of Bushmen.

As the expedition was during the winter when most of the plants were 126 in poor condition, very little photography was done in the field. Most of the photographs are from plants which were sent back to Pretoria and cultivated there, or from plants which grow naturally in the Transvaal. In [128] this paper the plants and photographs are arranged according to de Dalla Torre and Harms (1900-1907). Specimen numbers are in brackets.

There is little doubt that the plants discussed here represent only a 114 fraction of those used, for we covered a very small part of the area over which the Bushmen range, and this when probably most of the annuals were dead, when some foods were out of season and when the above ground parts of many bulbous and tuberous plants had withered and disappeared so that the plants themselves could not be found.

Because of poor yield, poor quality, difficulty in harvesting or lack of 000 flavour, not many of the Bushman food plants would be worth cultivating in their present form for the use of civilised people, but they offer a large field to the plant breeder. The most promising have been noted accordingly in the text.

There were few bones around the Bushman encampments, but this 262 does not necessarily mean that there is a scarcity of meat in their diet, for the bones might have been removed by porcupines (Alexander, 1956; Dart, 1957) or eaten by hyaenas. A more reliable indication was the [291] scantiness of the Bushmen's skin coverings. There are sharp frosts in the [132] Kalahari and sometimes bitter winds, and one may argue that the Bushmen would provide themselves with sufficient skins if they had a regular supply of meat, although admittedly they eat skins after charring them on the coals and pounding them in a mortar. Vegetable refuse from former meals and fresh vegetable food, however, were found at all the Bushman encampments, and additional gatherings were the permanent chore of the women and children and of the men to a lesser degree. The insanitary condition of the surroundings also provided unmistakable [364] evidence that the bulk of their food was of vegetable origin.

Their knowledge of field botany was astonishingly good. It has to 824 be, otherwise they would have no chance of survival in their arid country. Fragments of stem, dead leaves, and other small clues of this nature, after being unerringly identified, were all the Bushmen needed to find many of the storage organs they were seeking. Differences which escaped me would enable them to distinguish between edible and harmful plants, and they had a thorough knowledge of the areas and habitats in which their food plants grew. They must have an influence on the distribution of plants, 137X

137 spreading some like the Grewias and the melons whose seeds pass through the alimentary canal apparently unharmed and reducing others like the Eulophias and Vignas which have edible underground storage organs. It is perhaps significant that, with two exceptions, the edible members of the family Asclepiadaceae were rarely found. In this paper there are 11, from Raphionacme to Fockea inclusive—nearly all important food plants with underground storage organs. The two commoner exceptions were *Sarcostemma viminale* which is sometimes poisonous and *Pentarrhinum insipidum* which has edible leaves and fruits but an inedible perennial root.

146 I am not qualified to speak on the health of the Bushmen, but it is apparent even to the layman that they are very unlikely to suffer from any deficiency disease while on their natural diet. When they are recruited for labour and fed on an unbalanced diet their health will be undermined and they will be less able to resist the rigours of their normal life when their contracts expire.

114 Their study by serious workers is to be encouraged for it should lead to their stability as a race and the enrichment of our knowledge, but contacts with irresponsible strangers is unfortunate and observations like the following by Brown (1954: 130) are valueless and regrettable:—

> "They are wonderful runners. When I chased one with the clanging of a bell he set off at a good bat into the distance, and kept it up until out of sight."

122 During the three months in which the field work was done, the expenses of my transport and keep were met from the funds of the expedition, and this I gratefully acknowledge. Dr. R. A. Dyer, Chief of the Division of Botany, gave me the opportunity of joining the expedition, and all facilities for working up the results of the field work. Most of the determinations were done by my colleagues in the Division of Botany, and of them Miss I. C. Verdoorn, author of *Edible Wild Fruits of the Transvaal*, read through the typescript and gave me valuable advice. Dr. L. E. Codd deserves special thanks for the way he saw to the growing of the considerable quantities of roots, bulbs and seeds sent from the Kalahari.
000 I thank Mr. L. K. Marshall, who led the expedition, and the members of it,
[15] for their interest and kindness, also Kernel Ledimo, a fluent speaker of the
Eastern !khũ language, who was always ready to translate or to pilot me through its little-known and fascinating grammar and phonetics. My notes on the Bushman languages were kindly checked by Prof. L. F. Maingard, and the ethnological literature was supplied mainly by Dr. N. J. van Warmelo of the Department of Native Affairs. I am indebted to Messrs. Midgeley, Martin and Scholtz of the Bechuanaland Administration for hospitality and for enabling me to see parts of the territory that I should not otherwise have seen. My thanks would not be complete without mention of the Bushmen whose knowledge is the foundation of this paper.
[124] The information was seldom reluctantly given—usually cheerfully and with humour, and always with intelligence.

X137 year. They produce an erect and robust plant with bright green leaves and numerous spreading underground rhizomes on which more bulbs are borne a few inches below the surface. Some stolons are produced above ground as well, from among the leaves. They afterwards turn downwards, entering the soil close to the parent plant and thereafter behaving in all respects like the rhizomes. The flowering stalk is three-angled and unjointed, with a cluster of compact, spiky inflorescences at the top, some on slender secondary stalks and some almost sessile. The parent plant is in a sense annual, for both it and the bulb producing it wither at the onset of winter, but the fresh bulbs which have been produced form new plants, and the species is capable of spreading very rapidly by this means. The bulbs are rounded, half an inch in diameter with a sharp point at the top, and covered with several papery brown layers which may be removed to expose a pale nut-like body.

Sedges usually favour damp places, but this species seemed equally at home in seepy areas and well-drained ones, and in the sandy country near Nama Pan it was common nearly everywhere, sometimes scattered among the grasses but more often in patches. Its range is from Cape Town to the Mediterranean, and it occurs in Australia also.

262 The bulbs are edible, and seemed to be a fairly important food of
the northern Bushmen. The taste is sweetish and they have a crisp tex-
252 ture and a cloudy, very slightly astringent juice. Light roasting improves
222 the flavour. They are easily gathered by scratching away the top layer
of soil, and their presence is often shown by the disturbed soil where they
grow, for they are a favourite food with many birds and small animals,
which scratch and burrow to find them. According to the *Flora Capensis*
the plant "has been for nearly a century cultivated in Europe".

X137 *Hyphaene ventricosa* Kirk (5301).

Eastern !khũ Bushman !hani and !heni

This palm is bushy when young, but loses its bushy habit as it matures, forming a long clean stem 40 feet in height with a crown of leaves at the top and often with a slight swelling near the middle. The leaf has a strong woody rhachis up to six feet long, slightly hollowed above and rounded below, with a row of sharp hooked spines at intervals of an inch or so along each margin. At its tip it bears the leafy part which is two feet across and folded like a fan. The fruits, a little smaller than a tennis-ball, are covered with a glossy brown papery skin, and are borne in clusters.

Old an half-decayed fruits were found in the neighbourhood of Nama Pan, presumably where they had been discarded by Bushmen, but the palm trees themselves were not seen in this area. Only one specimen was found, 20 miles to the north-east. It was immature and had neither flowers nor fruits. According to available records, it was growing near the southern limit of its range, which extends to northern Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo.

262 There is a quarter-inch edible mealy layer immediately underlying the
114 skin of the fruit. It is fibrous and dry but sweetish, with a pleasant
flavour, and may be gnawed off the hard inner shell into which it merges.
[272] The kernel in the centre of the mature fruit is hard and bony and inedible,
[252] but Chapman (1868: II: 73) states that the milk of the young fruit may be
used like that of the coconut, and that the whole of the young fruit may "
be eaten after boiling, "pulp, rind, and all."

be eaten after boiling, "pulp, rind and all". Dinter (1912:21-22) says 262
also that the Bushmen use the heart of the palm as a green vegetable, and 114
that a sweet sap may be tapped from the upper part of the stem and [273]
fermented to make an alcoholic drink. He gives the yield of fruits from one palm as between 20 and 50 kilograms (48 to 120 lb.). His reference to the heart of the palm is obscure, but Chapman (1868:I:55-56), who is more explicit, says that this is the core of the young trunk.

Aloe rubrolutea Schinz (5135). 137X

Eastern !khũ Bushman	n||ɔru

This species was in full bloom in early August, and made a striking show with its spikes of brick-red flowers. The plants formed rosettes of leaves 12 inches across, producing a slender erect five-foot flowering stalk. Among the hundreds of speciments seen there were none arborescent, although elsewhere arborescent forms are common (Reynolds 1950: 328). Those seen at Nama Pan were similar in habit to *Aloe zebrina*.

Aloe rubrolutea was seen only on the rocky outcrops near Nama Pan and Gam, growing in patches of an acre or so, but it has a wide distribution extending from South West Africa through the Bechuanaland Protectorate to the northern Transvaal and Portuguese East Africa.

The flowers are stripped off the flowering stalk and pounded to make a 252
spinach-like vegetable. Although the Bushmen said that they did not eat 262
the leaves, they were tasted raw and boiled and were found to be juicy and not unpleasant, and to have no harmful effects. They would be a good source of water in an emergency.

Aloe zebrina Bak. (4995). 137X

!hɔ̃: Bushman......	||ganju
||ganakwe Bushman	n||ɔru
|gikwe Bushman...	n||uru
Naron Bushman...	n||ɔru

The plant forms a rosette of rigid dark green leaves which have pale transverse bands and numerous sharp teeth along the margins. It may have a stem 30 centimetres long (Reynolds, 1950: 282), but those seen on the expedition were stemless. The flowering stalks were three or four feet high. The sap in the epidermis of the leaves is greenish-yellow. It oozes out of the vessels fairly quickly if a leaf is cut across, and hardens and changes colour on exposure to the air, becoming brown and glassy. The bulk of the sap, which is in the inner part of the leaf, is colourless and translucent, and does not ooze out if the leaf is cut.

Only one small clump of this Aloe was seen, on deep sand about 80 miles directly south-east of Ghanzi. It is, however, recorded from Angola and South West Africa and across the continent to the east.

The Bushmen stated that the leaves were a good source of water. One 262
of these plants was sent to Pretoria and grew well in cultivation. On being 312
tested, the leaves proved extremely unpleasant, not because of any bad 824
taste but because their sap is in the form of a thick, revolting slime. Boiling or roasting did nothing towards making them more palatable. Either the Bushmen were confusing this Aloe with another species, or it

262 271 824 [114] is eaten only when they are in the greatest need. Reynolds (1950: 285), quoting W. B. Hooker, states that its flowers may be eaten after boiling, but I did not think of asking the Bushmen about this, and they did not volunteer any information.

X137 *Dipcadi* sp. (5163, 5307).

!hɔ̃: Bushman........	n!ɦɔm
Naron Bushman......	n!ɔm
Eastern !khũ Bushman	n!umʃé:

Although the above-ground parts had been killed by frost, enough remained for the plant to be identified as a species of Dipcadi. The bulbs were two inches below the surface of the soil, in appearance like a small onion. They were planted in Pretoria, but although they were still alive two years after being collected, they had failed to produce leaves or flowers up to the time this report was written.

Specimens were collected at Nama Pan, in parkland on sandy soil. As the plant was recognised and named by one of the southern !hɔ̃: Bushmen who was with us, it probably extends into the Kalahari well south of Ghanzi.

[262] The bulbs are edible after cooking.

Scilla sp. near *Scilla lancifolia* Bak. (5190) Photograph 5.

Eastern !khũ Bushman tũ

This plant has a rounded two-inch bulb covered with a thick layer of dark brown papery scales. In the summer it produces three or four spreading leaves, usually six inches long but up to 10, and one and a half inches wide at the widest part. They are thin but fleshy, strap-shaped (but in section widely V-shaped near the base), and light green, sometimes faintly mottled with darker green. The inflorescence is four inches long and the flowers small and not conspicuous, with purple stamens and a recurved perianth.

It was common in shallow sand overlying rock near Gautscha Pan and Nama Pan but was not easy to find because the leaves and inflorescences had been frosted, and blown away by the wind by the time the expedition had reached those parts. A number of bulbs collected there produced leaves and flowers in Pretoria the following summer, and it was from these plants that the notes were made.

[252 262] The bulb is edible after roasting but I have not tried it personally.

It would be dangerous to experiment with plants like this if what the Bushmen say is true, for it could be easily confused with another species which has an inedible bulb. The inedible species (No. 5181) is shown in photograph 6 and may be distinguished by its longer bulb and longer leaves (10 inches long and over, and two inches wide at the widest part). They have a translucent fringed margin, are pointed, narrowly V-shaped in section and more numerous, about 12 to a plant. In addition, the

Pollichia campestris Ait. (4963, 5040) Photograph 15. 137x

A small grey-green bush with much-branched slender soft stems, fairly compact when growing in the open but usually found as a semi-scrambler up to four feet high. The leaves arise in tufts of about three, the tufts being opposite each other and at intervals of anything up to an inch along the stem. They are lanceolate and usually under half an inch long. The plant bears what at first sight appear to be fleshy translucent fruits like small white or yellowish mulberries, but which are actually parts of the flowers.

This is a widespread plant throughout Africa, and was seen at intervals all along the route taken by the expedition.

The fleshy parts of the flowers are edible and sweet, with a queer earthy flavour, and are loosely attached so that they may be easily collected by pulling the stems through the hands. The plant, however, did not appear common enough to be of importance as a food. [262]

Boscia albitrunca (Burch.) Gilg and Benedict (4998, 5208) Photograph 16.

!hɔ: Bushman........	≠hun
‖ganakwe Bushman...	n|ɦu–ni
|gikwe Bushman......	n|ɦu–ni
Naron Bushman......	n|ɦu–ni
Eastern !khû Bushman	zâ

This is a rather variable tree, sometimes with erect branches and sometimes with a spreading crown, usually bearing many thin twigs with much dead wood among them. The bark is sometimes loose, dark and coarsely fissured and sometimes white and flaky. The species was also often seen in the form of a many-stemmed shrub about four feet high. It is evergreen, and did not seem to be at all affected by the heavy frosts that were experienced in the central Kalahari. The leaves arise singly or in bunches of four or five from small knobs on the twigs, and are leathery and about one inch long and a third as wide. Although the flowers are small and inconspicuous as individuals, they are borne in masses towards the tips of the twigs and make quite a show. In the Cape and the Transvaal at least the tree appears to be sporadic in its flowering. The fruits are borne on half-inch jointed stalks, and are half an inch in diameter, pale-skinned and translucent, with several large stones surrounded by a thin, watery pulp.

The tree was scattered evenly throughout the country from Molepolole to Ghanzi and Gautscha Pan, and has been recorded from the Cape Province northwards to the tropics. It occurred singly, occasionally in open communities, but it was never seen to form thickets.

The fruits are eaten by the Bushmen, but they do not make pleasant eating, for the pulp has a rather slimy texture and a sickly-sweet taste. [262]

Sim (1907:123) refers to a meal which is prepared from the roots by drying and beating them. The resulting meal is then sifted to remove the fibres and may be made into a porridge. There are reports of gastro-intestinal disturbances after the eating of Boscia roots, but the reports have not been confirmed, and Steyn (1934: 561) fed large quantities to a rabbit without ill effects. It is suspected that people are susceptible only when they are not accustomed to this food. The Bushmen were not asked about their use of the roots, and did not volunteer any information. [252] [114 124]

The older trees are often hollow, and form natural reservoirs for rain water which is tapped by the Bushmen. (See Adansonia.) 312 824

X137 ***Coccinia sessilifolia* (Sond.) Cogn. (5167) Photograph 62.**

Eastern !khũ Bushman ¯k'ĩ:dwa

A vine with many slender stems and bluish-green sessile leaves, deeply and irregularly lobed but usually less so than those of *Coccinia rehmannii*. The are covered with tiny raised scales on the upper surface, which sometimes show through on the lower surface as dots, and although hairs are present they are nearly all confined to the margins and too small to be seen by the naked eye. The tendrils are produced at the base of the leaves. Male and female flowers are borne on different plants. They are superficially alike, and similar to those of *Coccinia rehmannii*. The fruits are ovoid, three inches long and one in diameter, and are bright red when ripe. The leaves drop during the winter, and the vines also wither and disintegrate, but fresh ones arise in the spring from a perennial tuber weighing up to 25 pounds or so and similar in all respects to the tuber of *Coccinia rehmannii*.

Although the plant has a wide distribution on a variety of soils in the Cape Province, the Orange Free State, the Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa, it was not seen on the expedition until Nama Pan was reached, where it was growing under the shelter of trees in sand. Two tubers, which happened to be male and female respectively, were sent to Pretoria, and flowers and fruits were produced in the summer of 1955-56.

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252 Both tuber and fruit are edible. The tuber, which is prepared by roasting or boiling, is fibrous and rather tasteless. The fruits may be eaten raw when ripe, and although sweet are without much flavour. They are best used for food when gathered green and cooked as a vegetable. Their texture is then fairly firm and their flavour like that of Asparagus. [136] An added advantage of using them green is that one avoids the larva of a certain fly which, in Pretoria at any rate, often heavily infests the more mature fruit.

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X137 It is of interest to note that although there is a record in the National Herbarium that birds eat the fruit and that the tubers are dug out and eaten by buck, there is no record of the fact that the plant is eaten by human beings. On the contrary, the information on one specimen is "Fruit is very poisonous to children" and on another "Toxic".

132 the black sky blazes with stars. In winter the icy wind, pouring steadily across the continent from the Antarctic, blows all night long.

132 137 There are only three months of rain in the whole year, and these begin in December, ending the hottest season when the air is as tight and dry as a drum skin. Under the rain—which is sometimes torrential, drenching the earth, making rivers down the sides of trees, sometimes an easy land rain that blows into the long grass like a mist—the heat and drought melt away and the grass turns green at the roots. Soon the trees flower, and in the low places the dry dust becomes sucking mud. Towering clouds, miles away, widen the horizon, and all the bushes which stretch in an unchanging expanse over dune after dune now blossom and bear white or red or violet flowers. But the season is short, and the plants bud, flower, and fruit very quickly; in March the drought creeps in, just as the veld fruits ripen and scatter their seeds.

132 When the rains stop, the open water is the first to dry, making slippery mud and then caked white earth. By June only little soaks of waterholes remain, hidden deep in the earth, covered with long grass. These, which are miles apart, dry up by August, and then travel in the veld is nearly impossible. Because of this, large areas of the Kalahari remain unexplored.

114 We have crossed this desert three times, my family and I, on three expeditions, which usually numbered between ten and fourteen people and included my father, my mother, my brother, and myself, as well as several other Europeans who were linguists, zoologists, botanists, or archaeologists, sent by universities of the Union of South Africa, England, or the United States, as well as four or five Bantu men—several interpreters, a cook, and a mechanic—who were the staff. We usually traveled in four big trucks and a jeep, and had to carry

114 all our food and water, gasoline, and equipment in supplies to last us for several months. We crossed great drought areas, once crossing four hundred miles of the central desert of Bechuanaland where there was no water at all, and once traveling every day for two weeks into an unmapped part of the desert of South-West Africa, close to the Bechuanaland border, where we found a waterhole and refilled our empty [12] drums. All this was for the purpose of filming and studying the life and customs of the people of the Kalahari, who are called the Bushmen.

142 Bushmen are a naked, hungry people, slight of build and yellow-skinned; the only feature they have in common with their large-boned, darker-skinned neighbors, the Negro or Bantu tribes living at the edges of the Bushmen's territory, is their peppercorn curly hair. Otherwise, Bushmen are very like the Asian peoples, often having Mongolian eyefolds and rather broad, flat faces with almost no noses at all. Because of the dust, perspiration, and the blazing sun, their skins darken to a copper brown, but under their arms where sweat has washed the dust away the yellow skin shows. Bushman babies, in fact, are born pale pink, often with a dark, pigmented area at the base of their spines which Kung Bushmen [826] call "the jar"—because, they say, the mother carries her baby and her water jar together in the pouch of her garment—but which we know as the Mongolian Spot.

Physically, the Bushmen are a handsome people, though short of stature—a man being a few inches over and a woman a few inches under five feet—and a little swaybacked of carriage, which makes their bellies stick out. They are handsome 481 because of the extreme grace in their way of moving, which is 142 strong and deft and lithe; and to watch a Bushman walking or simply picking up something from the ground is like

unmarried son or two, and their daughters' children. Bushmen 105
are polygynous, and a man is allowed by custom to have 621
as many wives as he can afford, depending on how well he [595]
hunts—usually a man can afford only one wife, sometimes
two (often a pair of sisters), and once we heard of a man with
four wives. For this reason there are often more women than
men in a band.

The immediate family, a man, his wife, or wives, and children, 105
is the only solid social unit; otherwise the small bands 592
are always breaking up and recombining with other small 621
bands as the structures of single families change, through
marriages, divorces, deaths, or as the family decides to pay a
prolonged visit to a different group of relatives.

Any Bushman will either be related by blood or marriage 105
or will be acquainted with all the other Bushmen in his area 602
but this is as far as Bushmen go in their affinities. They do 609
not recognize as their own people strange Bushmen who speak
the same language; in fact, they suspect and fear them as they
do any stranger.

We have visited four of the Bushman language groups, two 114 ●
of which we stayed with for long periods of time. In 1951, 131
after a survey expedition to learn where Bushmen could be
found, we went into the Nyae Nyae area of South-West
Africa, close to the border of Bechuanaland, to look for Kung
Bushmen. We found a band living near a waterhole, as it was
June, the drought of the year, and we stayed with them for
four months. At first only a few Bushmen were there, but as [609
the news spread that we were friendly, more and more people 276]
came to visit us and receive presents of tobacco and salt,
for Bushmen love to smoke but rarely have tobacco, which
they get in trade. Also, most of the Bushmen had never
seen a European before, none had ever seen a European
woman, and they came by dozens to sit together in a cluster

114 at a distance to observe my mother and me. By the end of
131 our stay we had become friendly with them, and in 1952 we visited them again. We found them waiting confidently for us, living beside the track our trucks had made, as we had told them that we would come back if we were able, and this time we stayed with them for a year. In August 1955 we returned to them again, but before we did so we spent four months in Bechuanaland. We lived one month with a group of Naron and Kō Bushmen at a place called Okwa (the two groups were mixed together because their territories happen to meet at that place), and almost two months with Gikwe Bushmen in the four-hundred-mile stretch of empty desert between Ghanzi, near the border of South-West Africa, and Molepolole, near the border of the Transvaal. Ghanzi is a small town with a post office and a store, the center of a group of rather extensive European farms. Molepolole is a great Bantu village of the Bakwena (Crocodile) Bechuana people, where a Chuana chieftain lives. The other month we spent traveling to the Gikwe, because they are very remote.

174 Nobody knows where the Bushmen originated, from what racial stocks they came, or when they came to Africa. But here and there throughout southern Africa, in mountain caves and on sheltered rocks, paintings and engravings are found which are known to have been made centuries ago, and are believed to have been made by Bushmen. It is hard to say for certain that Bushmen made the paintings because, to my
[531] knowledge, Bushmen do not paint on rocks or in caves now. However, Kung Bushmen do scratch designs on the bark of trees and on their ostrich eggshells. During each expedition I asked Bushmen to paint for me with paints and paper which I provided. Though none of the Bushmen we met had ever

CHAPTER TWO

The Road

114 AFTER we left Chukudu, a tiny village of Bantu people, the last marked place on the map of Bechuanaland between Molepolole in the east and Ghanzi far in the west, we had no path to follow. We took a course out over the veld set by a Bushman, Gishe, who rode in the jeep at the head of our convoy of four trucks and, remembering the land from his childhood—for he was a Gikwe Bushman—pointed the way.

That was in winter, the last of June 1955, and there were fifteen of us on the expedition, a larger group than we had traveled with before. Besides my father, my mother, my bother John, and myself, there were three South Africans with us, who were Dr. Robert Story, of the Division of Botany in the Department of Agriculture at Pretoria; Theunis Berger, once a health officer of the government of the Bechuanaland Protectorate; and Cass Kruger, a mechanic. There were two other Americans—Daniel Blitz, an expert in sound-recording and photography, and William Donnellan, a doctor. There was also a staff of six African and colored men, who were Philip Hameva, the cook; Ledimo, an interpreter who spoke English, Afrikaans, Herero, Sechuana (his native

Gikwe

114 language), and Kung; Simon, a mechanic's helper; William Camm, also an interpreter who spoke Afrikaans, some English, and Gikwe; and Gishe and Dabe, two Gikwe Bushmen who lived on Theunis's farm.

We were looking for Gikwe Bushmen, as we had heard that there were some who lived in the area. We hoped that if we found some, Gishe or Dabe might discover a relative and enable us to make friends.

133 137 We traveled for many days, all day long, for, not knowing where the Bushmen were, we hoped to come across some of them somewhere, or find a trace or track that might show us in what direction they had gone. We did not find anyone, though, and we saw nothing but the series of long, broad plains that dipped and tilted ever so little; we would find ourselves down in a wide, shallow bowl of grass, then at the rim of the bowl, where we would see the next plain rolling for miles away. Occasionally we came to an acacia forest, but mostly the country was open grassland with tiny thorn bushes down in the grass to catch us. Because it was June, the beginning of the dry season, there were many veld fires, and although we never came upon any, every day we saw their smoke, gray and misty on the horizon, all around us in a ring.

136 Sometimes we saw a small herd of game running far away from us, raising a little cloud of dust. We saw gemsbok, handsome, large, beige antelope, striped black on their sides, white-bellied, with long, straight horns. We saw gray, tousled wildebeest with curved horns like the horns of cattle. Once we surprised a herd of three eland, a bull and his two wives, which had been eating behind a clump of bushes. They threw up their heads when they saw us, eyes catching the sun and shining pale green like fires. They wheeled, hoofs scraping, and ran, their red bodies swaying, their heads held high

A NOTE ABOUT THE AUTHOR

ELIZABETH MARSHALL THOMAS *was born in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1931. She went to Shady Hill School, Abbott Academy, and then Smith College, from which she transferred to Radcliffe College, where she was graduated in 1954. She accompanied three expeditions that went to South Africa to make anthropological studies and films in 1951, in 1952–3, and in 1955. She won the* Mademoiselle *College Fiction Contest in 1952 with a short story, "The Hill People," which was later reprinted in Martha Foley's* Best American Short Stories *of 1953. She lives in New York City with her husband and daughter.* The Harmless People *is her first book.* 114

[p. 266(A)]

Naron

Brother and sister are the only relations who are forbidden to 582
marry, and by this, real brother and sister are meant, the children
of one father and mother, not cousins. I never heard a title for
any cousin, however related, though several were present
Cousins sometimes marry, but more often a bride from a distance
is procured.

A pair of sisters have a very close relationship. They are 593
generally chums, and help each other with their babies. A child [601]
calls its mother's sister its "little mother". In speaking of the [604]
occasional bigamy found among the **Naron** in contrast to other 595
Bushman tribes, an old man said to me:

"A man may take a second wife, if he wishes. If they agree well, they live in one hut; if not, each makes herself a hut. A man had better take his wife's younger sister as his second wife; then they do not quarrel, but live in one hut."

ǁka in **ǁkashe** "maternal aunt" may be derived from **ǁkai** 196
"together". **Ho** used as a verb means "to marry", also "to give 601
birth to children". **Ti kweba** and **ti kwesa** mean simply "my
man", "my woman"; they are more often used than **hoba**
and **hosha**.

A widow may marry her late husband's brother, but need not 587
do so. She is quite at liberty to marry any other man. If she
remarries, her husband is expected to look after her children; [604]
otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. The widow
may stay near her husband's people, or return to her own people,
as she pleases.

Grandparents, particularly on the mother's side, are very fond 597
of adopting a grandchild. They will half adopt one, even during 603
both parents' lifetime. The grandmother is generally the person [868]
who teaches a child to speak.

In concluding these notes on the tables of relationship, I should 114
like to say that I know they are very incomplete. At the time
of my stay among the **ǁkau ǁen** and **Naron** I had not realized the
importance of this side of native life; nor apparently had my
aunt, Dr. Lloyd, whose work I rely on for the **ǀxam** and **ǃkuŋ**
tables. Still, I think sufficient has been collected to show the
general trend of Bushman family ties.

One must always remember, that people depending on nature 105
for their entire food supply, can only exist in very small, widely 161
scattered groups. Families cannot be large. Drought and famine

[Text Continues on page 70]

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NOTE ON BUSHMAN ORTHOGRAPHY

By D. F. Bleek

IN writing the article on "Bushman Terms of Relationship" appearing in this issue of *Bantu Studies*, I have tried to follow the phonetic script of the International Phonetic Association, as far as I understand it, except for denoting clicks. For these I should be willing to use the symbols chosen by Mr. Doke for Zulu clicks, were they adequate for expressing all the click combinations found in Bushman; but they are not.

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Had Mr. Doke seen fit to adopt one symbol for each implosive sound, regardless of the accompanying breathed sound, I could have used these symbols for three of the Bushman clicks. But unfortunately Mr. Doke has not followed that course, but has chosen three symbols for each implosive sound denoting a combination of the implosive sound with the sound made by the expulsion of the breath.

Every click has a double closure, one made by the front or tip of the tongue against the teeth, alveolar, or palate, or of the lips together, the other by the back of the tongue against the velum, as Mr. Doke has shown in his admirable experiments. In making the click alone, only the front closure is audibly released, the back closure might stay in position, for all we know, no breath being emitted from the lungs. We cannot call that click either unvoiced, voiced, or nasal. But in speaking, this implosive sound is accompanied or followed by breathed sounds. The back closure being in the position for "k" or "g", if the air is pressed against that closure while the click is made, it will produce a slight "k" or "g" sound in rushing out. These sound combinations are called by Mr. Doke and others unvoiced and voiced clicks. If the uvula is lowered while making the click, a nasal sound is produced.

For these three combinations Mr. Doke provides symbols. All three are found in Bushman, the first in very many examples; but there are words in which not the slightest "k" or "g" sound is audible with the click, the back release is silent. In others the back release is silent, but an aspirate follows before the vowel. Again, there may be a treble closure: front of tongue, back of

[p. 71]

104 114 194 tongue, and glottis. The front of the tongue is released first, making a click, then the back is exploded, making a sort of glottal plosive. The fricative "x" may also be combined with the click. For these clicks or combinations of sound there is no provision in Mr. Doke's system, so to avoid confusion I have followed the old custom of all writers on Bushman and Hottentot, and used a sign for the click alone, expressing the other sounds by their ordinary symbols.

104 194 This may best be shown by examples. We find the dental or alveolar click in the following combinations:—

Bushman spelling.	English.	Mr. Doke's spelling.	Old Bantu spelling.
ǀa	to fight		
ǀka	to leave	ʇa	ca
ǀkha	stick	ʇha	c'a
ǀha	husband		
ǀxā	to shoot		
ǀk'a	river bed		
ǀga	hippopotamus	ɤa	gca
ǀna	head	ɳa	nca

The retroflex plosive click is found in the following combinations:—

Bushman spelling.	English.	Mr. Doke's spelling.	Old Bantu spelling.
!a	along		
!kā	to await	ʗa	qa
!khau	bee	ʗhau	q'au
!ham	first		
!xạ	sister-in-law's husband		
!k'ao	to skin		
!gā	frog	ʌa	gqa
!na	winter	pa	nqa

These combinations can be found with the retroflex fricative click, which corresponds more or less to the lateral click of Bantu. Bushmen do not make this click with the tongue against the teeth or side of the mouth, but place it in about the same position as for the last click, only they release it gently, as in making the dental click. I give as examples:—

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Bushman spelling.	English.	Mr. Doke's spelling.	Old Bantu spelling.
ǁa	to go		
ǁka	wet	**ʒa**	**xa**
ǁkha̧	lion	**ʒha**	
ǁhagen	to equal		
ǁxâ	again		
ǁk'a̧ !kwi	son's father-in-law		
ǁga	night	**wa**	**gxa**
ǁna	there	**ŋa**	**nxa**

˴ below the line indicates a low intonation.

The same combinations can be found with the alveolar plosive click, which is made as the retroflex plosive click, only with the tongue pressure very far forward, almost on the teeth. For example :—

Bushman spelling.	English.
‡abbakn	**to burn**
‡kà	**bare**
‡khàra	**wingfeather**
‡hau	**to jump**
‡xamm[illegible]	**to fetch**
‡k'anna	**to call**
‡gabbetn	**to throw**
‡na	**to forget**

The fifth click, found only in Southern Bushman, is made by pressing the lips together and then sucking the air in. It is found in the following combinations :—

ʘpwa little, ʘbu to rain gently, ʘho tree, ʘmwainya to kiss.

In his "Notes on a problem in the mechanism of Zulu clicks", Mr. Doke speaks as if no "k" sound were heard in what he calls the "unvoiced" clicks. I think most people hear a very slight "k". Colonials, in using Zulu or Kafir names, very often omit the click and say the rest of the word as they hear it. They always get a "k" sound, *Cetywayo* **becomes Ketywayo,** *X'osa* **becomes Khosa, and so forth. I do not know of any Bantu names with clicks that have turned into words beginning with a vowel on the lips of Colonials.** 104 114 194

On the other hand Hottentot place names, when adopted by Colonials and stripped of their clicks, sometimes become words 000

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000 beginning with "k", such as *Kakamas*, *Karakhois*, from ǁkakamas, ǃkarakhois; and sometimes turn into words beginning with a vowel, as *Aus*, *Abiam*, *Oas*, from ǃaus, ǁabiam, ǁoas.

Moreover, by speaking of "unvoiced" clicks, Mr. Doke shows
104 that he is thinking of the expulsion of breath from the lungs, not
●114 merely of the implosive phone, the click proper. In spite of my
194 disagreeing with him on this point, I would adopt his symbols, were they adequate for Bushman transcription. As it is, I stick to the old signs long identified with the Hottentot and Bushman clicks, and sufficing for all purposes, rather than inventing a whole row of new symbols.

000 To Dr. Beech I tender hearty thanks for his kind help in explaining the phonetic script of the I.P.A., which would otherwise have remained a closed book to me. I only hope that this attempt at Bushman transcription may be clear to other students.

● 114

John Marshall is one of a family that has been studying the Bushmen for nearly a decade, in expeditions to South West Africa by the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

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222 [412] !Kung women, who are slender-armed and do this monotonous work to the end of their lives. All roots—a major food—are gathered in identical fashion. The implement for this is a digging stick—made usually by a woman's husband from any of a number of hardwoods: the bark is peeled from a branch, a point is whittled sharp. Women, squatting, dig narrow holes in the earth with these sticks, and tug until the root they have reached comes free. Berries are picked—high ones jostled down with sticks and sought for carefully among the grass stems. Nuts are collected on the ground.

224 SMALL ANIMALS, such as tortoises and even grasshoppers, are sometimes captured by the women and brought home in the evening—such small creatures are also considered *veldkos*. The women, too, will kill snakes, even puff adders. When they see a puff adder, they gather around it in a little crowd, their high laughter tinkling while they drop large, heavy things on its flat head.

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461 Averaged over a year, women gather on four or five days of each week—the number of days depending

[p.41]

●114 MR. MARSHALL has participated in all six expeditions to the Kalahari by Harvard's Peabody Museum. Two of the expeditions were in association with the Smithsonian Institution.

224 with the heat and exertion, the portly animals suffer a kind of stroke and have to take to the shade to recover. There, puffing and dizzy, the exhausted elands can be butchered by the deep-breathing hunters.

[223] The trap is a spring-pole snare, of which exists a small version for birds and a larger version for small bucks. Such trapping is usually practiced only by young boys, and even they seem to do it rarely, so that what could amount to an important food source is neglected by the !Kung. The men would rather be gone after the big game, absorbed in the heat and chance of hunting,

[p. 49]

SHARING, TALKING, AND GIVING: RELIEF OF SOCIAL TENSIONS AMONG /KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THIS paper describes customs, practised by the /Kung Bushmen in the Nyae 121 Nyae region of South Africa, which help them to avoid situations that are likely to arouse ill will and hostility among individuals within the bands and between bands. Two customs which seem to be especially helpful and which I describe in detail are meat-sharing and gift-giving. I mention also the /Kung habits of talking, aspects of their good manners, their borrowing and lending, and their not stealing.[1]

The common human needs for co-operation and companionship are particularly 601 apparent among the Nyae Nyae /Kung. Independent living, outside the band structure,[2] does not exist for individuals. Nuclear families do not live alone. The arduous hunting-gathering life would be impossible without the co-operation and companionship of a larger group. Moreover, in this society the ownership of the resources of 423 food and water is organized through the headmen of bands, and individuals have rights to these resources by being members of a band connected to the headman by 622 some near or remote kin or affinal bond. The /Kung are also extremely dependent 602 emotionally on the sense of belonging and on companionship. Their need to avoid loneliness, I think, is actually visible in the way families cluster together in their 571 werfs and in the way people sit, often touching someone else, shoulder against shoulder, ankle across ankle. Comfort and security for them lie in belonging to their group, free from hostility or rejection.

Their security and comfort must be achieved side by side with self-interest and 578 much jealous watchfulness. Altruism, kindness, sympathy, or genuine generosity 593 were not qualities which I observed often in their behaviour. However, these qualities were not entirely lacking, especially between parents and offspring, between siblings and between spouses. One mother carried her sick adult daughter on her back for three days in searing summer heat for us to give her medicine. /Naoka carried her lame son, Lame ≠Gao, for years. Gau clucked and fussed over his second wife, Khuan//a, when she was sick. When /U had a baby, her sister, Di/ai, gathered veldkos for her for five days. On the other hand, people do not generally help each other. They laugh when the lame man, Kham, falls down and do not help him up. /U's jealous eyes were like those of a viper when we gave more attention to her husband, ≠Toma, than to her because he was much more ill. And, in the extreme, there is the report from the 1958 expedition of an instance of callous indifference in one band and the probable abandonment of a dying old childless woman, an old aunt, when her sister, with whom she lived, had died. 578

Occasions when tempers have got out of control are remembered with awe. The 606

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[1] This description of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region is based on observations made during our several expeditions between 1951 and 1959. Changes in the conditions under which the /Kung live are to be expected, and how these changes will affect the practice of the customs here described we do not know.

[2] Lorna Marshall, '/Kung Bushman Band Organization', *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960. 114

422 264 to the /Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

114 264 [251] It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae /Kung eat hearty meals of meat when they have been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount. They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming journey or against a future day of hunger.

284 The /Kung are quite conscious of the value of meat-sharing and they talk about it, especially about the benefit of the mutual obligation it entails. The idea of sharing is deeply implanted and very successfully imposes its restraints. To keep meat without sharing is one of the things that just is not done.

GIFT-GIVING

431 The custom of gift-giving comes, in my opinion, second only to meat-sharing in aiding the /Kung to avoid jealousy and ill will and to develop friendly relations. /Kung society puts considerable emphasis on gift-giving. Everything a person has may have been given to him and may be passed on to others in time. The /Kung make their artifacts, on the whole, of durable material and take good care of them. They last for generations and move in a slow eddy among the people. The dealings are only between individuals, but they are numerous and provide occasion, perhaps more than any one other activity does, for visits which bring whole bands into polite encounter.

[123] [177] We gave cowrie shells as parting gifts in 1951 to the women in ≠Toma's band, the band which first sponsored us and with which we stayed and did our consistent work, wherever they were, on each expedition. We had carefully observed that there were no cowrie shells among /Kung ornaments before we gave them. Ours were bought from a New York shell dealer, perhaps to the confusion of future archaeologists. We gave to each woman enough for a short necklace, one large brown shell and twenty smaller grey ones. In 1952 there was hardly a cowrie shell to be found in Band 1. They appeared, not as whole necklaces, but in ones and twos in people's ornaments to the edges of the region.

The /Kung have not developed special objects to use as gifts. Nor have they invested ordinary objects with special gift significance. What they give each other are the common artifacts and materials of everyday life (see Appendix). Some objects are more highly valued than others as gifts, as one would expect. I gathered that relative scarcity of material was a factor and that objects were appreciated for their beauty, workmanship, and appropriate size (a wide headband is better than a narrow one). People took an interest in remembering to whom an object had been given in the recent past, but the /Kung, who are present-oriented, do not place special value upon antiquity as such or systematically hold the distant past in mind.

301 [531] The /Kung decorate their artifacts very little (they have developed music and dancing, not the plastic or pictorial arts), but they delight in ornaments with which to adorn themselves. The intrinsic beauty, the meaningfulness, and the relief to the monotony of yellow-brown skin and grey-brown leather karosses are all valued.

/KUNG BUSHMAN RELIGIOUS BELIEFS[1]

LORNA MARSHALL

MY purpose in this paper is to describe some of the religious beliefs held currently by the /Kung Bushmen of the interior bands of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. I shall limit the paper to a description of their concepts of the gods, the problem of evil, supplication, the spirits of the dead, and the ceremonial curing dance, but leave for another paper a more detailed account of medicine men, how they become medicine men, and more about their practices and beliefs. We gathered the information which I present principally on our expeditions of 1952-3 and 1955. 121 [101] 114

Schapera traces considerable borrowing in the past by the Bushmen from Hottentots and Bergdama.[2] I did not have opportunity to trace, to any significant extent, possible present-day borrowing or exchange of ideas, and can only report that contact, and therefore opportunity for exchange, takes place between the interior bands of /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region and the Tswana and Herero on the border of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The /Kung have contact also, but much less frequently, with Makaukau (Auen) Bushmen to the south and through them to some extent with Naron in the Ghanzi region of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae occasionally see /Kung to the north of their region, who in turn see the Okavango and Ovambo tribes. Although the Nyae Nyae /Kung had not enough contact with white people before we came to absorb any Christian ideas directly from them, and no Christian missionary has been in the interior of the region, an influence of Christianity cannot be precluded because the Tswana do have contact with Christianity. Our own highly valued interpreter, Kernel Ledimo, who grew up near the border and spoke Bushman from his childhood, had been educated in an Anglican mission school. Although there has been contact with people who have Christian ideas, I do not recognize with certainty any Christian elements among /Kung beliefs. 177 648 [124]

One is left to wonder if the change in the concept of the nature of the gods, particularly in that of the great god, which appears when one compares the old tales with current concepts, was brought about entirely by the philosophical and logical powers of the /Kung themselves and by their adjustment to emotional needs, or whether influences from without played some part. I hope that the research of others may throw light on this point.

I should like to mention a few of the well-known Bushman beliefs, recorded in the past, which the present Nyae Nyae /Kung do *not* have and then proceed to a more systematic description of beliefs which they hold at present. 121

The Nyae Nyae /Kung have various beliefs and lore about the sun and moon, Canopus, the Pleiades, and other stars, and they have the well-known myth of the moon and the hare; but they do not attribute active divinity to the heavenly bodies, which are 'just stars', they say in effect, and we did not find that they either fear 821

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[1] We are grateful for a grant towards the publication of this long article.

[2] I. Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, London: Routledge, 1930. Reference is particularly to chapter vii.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

776 The name *Hishe*, Schapera tells us, is used by the Naron and Auen.[1] He thinks it
171 may be a corruption of *Heitsi Eibib*, a mythical hero of the Hottentots.[2] As this name is not reported for other /Kung groups by Miss Bleek, Vedder, or Lebzelter, it is possible that it has been borrowed by the Nyae Nyae /Kung from the Auen. The Auen (also called Makaukau) live immediately south of the Nyae Nyae region.[3]

The name *Huwe* is reported for Miss Lloyd's /Kung informants from Lake Ngami by Miss Bleek, for the /Kung at Tsumeb by Vedder, and for the eastern Kalahari group by Dornan, but not for the Auen or Naron, who said to Miss Bleek, as Schapera tells us,[4] that 'he [*Huwe*] was the "captain" of the men in the north, the Makoba and others. They also said he was the brother of *Hishe*, while one man called him the "captain" of the white people'.

The name *Kxo* is something of a puzzle. I spelt it this way because I thought I heard both the *k* and the velar fricative sound *x*, as distinct from the name *Ko*.[5] I believe now that what I heard as *Kxo* is the name which Schapera tells us is spelt both *Xu* and *||Khu* by Lebzelter.[6] Lebzelter's account of *Xu* given him by the group he calls the eastern /Kung accords so closely with the Nyae Nyae /Kung's account of *Hishe—Huwe—Kxo* that I feel certain that *Xu* and *Kxo* are conceptually the same being.

The Nyae Nyae /Kung did not have the name (or title) */khuba*, the Hottentot word for 'master', which Schapera tells us the Auen and Naron were beginning to borrow from the Nama when Miss Bleek worked with the Auen at Sandfontein.[7] Nor did they have *Thora* which Dornan heard among Bushmen of the eastern Kalahari.[8] And none of the informants we worked with knew the name *Erob* recorded by Lebzelter among the /Kung in the Oschimpoloveld. Schapera tells us that this name came from the Hebrew *Elohim*, a name used by missionaries among the Nama for 'God'.[9]

776 I shall have more to say about *||Gauwa* and *≠Gao!na* presently. The remaining three names, */Gara*, *Gani ga*, and *≠Gaishi ≠gai*, do not appear in the accounts of Bushman religion which Schapera analysed. I struggled to ascertain that they were names, not terms, titles, or descriptive phrases. So far, my evidence leads me to consider them names, but I could not trace their origin. My informants had no idea

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[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 182.

[2] Ibid., pp. 191, 374.

[3] For the location and extent of the Nyae Nyae region see Lorna Marshall, '/Kung Bushman Bands', *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960, pp. 325–7.

[104
114]

[4] Schapera, op. cit., p. 183.

[5] Some /Kung informants, /Ti/kay among them, claimed they did not know the name *Ko*. Others told us that *Ko* is a god of other people, a different god, not *≠Gao!na* or *||Gauwa*. They said, for example, that the white man's god is *Ko*. One informant said, in effect, that, even though *Ko* was a god of other people, he could kill anybody—white men, black men, and Bushmen. One is interested to note that *Ko* was the name of the female mantis god of the Bushmen of Basutoland, reported by Arbousset, as Schapera tells us (ibid., p. 181).

[6] 'Lebzelter, in his account of Kung religion, says that all the groups investigated by him have the belief in a "supreme good being" ("ein höchstes gutes Wesen"). Among the Eastern Kung this being is termed *Xu* (elsewhere he spells the name *||Khu*) or *Xuwu*, "the Lord" or "the great captain", whom he identifies with Vedder's *Huwe* or *Hu'e*.' (Ibid., p. 183.)

Bushman languages present so many difficulties to those who are not experts in them—difficulties in recognizing the clicks and in sorting out variations in pronunciation between individuals even of the same group, as well as variations that are probably imposed by the position of the words in the sentence and by other grammatical configurations, &c.—that such discrepancies as *Kxo*, *Xu*, and *||Khu* are relatively slight. Fully aware of my own inadequacy in the language, I usually assume when I differ from another observer that the other is right and I am wrong. However, I cannot simply adopt another's rendering of the word without knowing if the discrepancy is due to dialectal differences or to my ignorance or what, and so must stick to my own approximations.

[7] Schapera, op. cit., pp. 182–3.

[8] Ibid., p. 185.

[9] Ibid., p. 190.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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et la famine. Tous les deux expriment leur contentement ou leur mécontentement avec les gens, suivant leurs caprices.

Le grand dieu est omnipotent et a le pouvoir de commander chaque action des hommes, des animaux et des éléments. Le petit dieu est censé lui obéir et exécuter ses ordres.

En dernière analyse, le grand dieu est fondamentalement responsable, mais le petit dieu est capable d'une action indépendante et parfois il favorise une personne avec laquelle le grand dieu est mécontent, et, ainsi, fâche le grand dieu qui peut punir cette personne même de mort. Mais les /Kung disent que le grand dieu n'est jamais trop mécontent, car autrement il ne resterait personne vivant sur la terre. Ils adressent des prières sans formalités aux deux dieux en tant qu'individus, notamment au grand dieu, et sollicitent leur bienveillance.

Les /Kung croient que lorsque les gens meurent ils deviennent des esprits, *//gauwasi*, qui sont emportés au ciel où ils vivent avec le grand dieu. Il leur accorde l'immortalité et ils deviennent ses serviteurs, lesquels transmettent ses faveurs ou l'infortune aux hommes.

La seule manifestation religieuse à laquelle le peuple se livre de concert est la danse cérémoniale de guérison. Le grand dieu a donné une forte médecine curative qui réside dans la musique de la danse et dans les corps des guérisseurs. Au cours de la danse, cette médecine est évoquée non seulement afin de guérir quelqu'un qui est effectivement malade, mais également dans le but de chasser le mal éventuel et de protéger les gens. Les /Kung expliquent le fait que parfois la médecine ne guérit pas en disant que le grand dieu permet à la médecine d'agir ou non, suivant sa volonté.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

Robin Horton. Honorary Research Assistant, Department of Anthropology, University College, London; at present engaged in writing up field material on the social organization, religion, and art of the Kalabari Ijo of Southern Nigeria; author of *The Gods as Guests: an Aspect of Kalabari Religious Life*, and papers on the Ijo and Ibo.

[114] Lorna Marshall (Mrs. Laurence K. Marshall) has carried out fieldwork among the /Kung Bushmen in South West Africa and the /Gikwe and /Ko Bushmen in the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland; has published several articles in *Africa* on various aspects of Bushman life.

A. J. B. Hughes. Extension Research Officer, Southern Rhodesian Government; formerly research officer, Rhodes-Livingstone Institute and Swaziland Sociological Survey; part-author of *The Shona and Ndebele of Southern Rhodesia* (Ethnographic Survey), author of *Kin, Caste and Nation among the Rhodesian Ndebele* (R.L.I. paper no. 25), and of various papers on the Rhodesian Ndebele.

[For an annotated bibliography of the Bushmen, see 14: Willett, this file, category 113.]

14: Willet Y-4 (no date) 1965 FX10 Bushmen FX10

PREFACE

The Bushmen of Southern Africa are today represented by scattered groups 101
of hunters on the plains of the Kalahari and on the farms of South West
Africa and Angola. They are a unique and mysterious people and have
attracted the attention of numerous writers since the early settlers at
the Cape first made contact with the Sonquas. In this Bibliography an
attempt has been made to list most aspects of the culture of the Bushmen. 113
A bibliography on rock art was compiled in 1947, thus only a few items
appear on this subject. Those included are of interest because they
suggest some facet of culture or culture history. Some items are predominantly of a physical anthropological nature but contain sufficient
ethnological information to justify their inclusion.

The items are arranged in alphabetical order under broad subject 113
headings and an Author-Title index has been provided. The section entitled *History*, was included because it was felt that the earliest refer- 114
ences to Bushmen at the Cape and later in the interior, are of interest,
in creating a picture of the life and customs of the extinct groups of
Bushmen. The history of the tragic clashes between the Bushmen and other [648]
races which led to their extinction in most of Southern Africa, is traced
in such historical works as J. Sutherland, *Memoir respecting the Kaffirs Hottentots and Bosjemans of South Africa* and Donald Moodie, *The Record*

The main body of the bibliography is devoted to the ethnology of the
Bushmen and here are included items by authors, some of whom are not
ethnologists but whose work is of sufficient value to allow its inclusion
in this section. The items included in the small section entitled *Bushman Folklore*, include popularised versions of the work of Dorothea Bleek
and Lucy C. Lloyd. The section on *Linguistics* is purely restricted to
works available in Johannesburg and no attempt has been made to obtain
works by the Portuguese students of the Bushmen or other foreign linguistic studies. This can therefore claim to be no more than a token coverage of a field, in which a vast amount of work has been and still is,
being done. The section entitled *General*, contains work not sufficiently
scientific to be included under *Ethnology*, yet of interest, often because of their excellent illustrations. This section begins with works
published after 1900 and works of a similar nature published before this
date, appear in History.

Sources. Mendelssohn, *South African Bibliography* provided some of
the older items. Many of the older periodical references were traced
through the bibliography in - I. Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples of South Africa* and the Johannesburg Public Library's *Index to South African Periodicals* was also used. A list of periodical abbreviations indicates
the sources consulted. Periodical titles were written out in full when
they appeared only once.

Brief annotations are given in some cases. Page references and an
indication of contents, have been provided for some of the older items
which do not contain an index.

My sincere thanks are due to Prof. L.F. Maingard, Prof. M.G. Mar- 113
wick, and Mr. G. B. Silberbauer for their valuable advice, to Prof. 127
Manuel Guerreiro for kindly sending material on the Portuguese contribution to Bushman Studies, of which I could include only a very small
number, and to Prof. P.V. Tobias for so kindly allowing me access to his
bibliography on cards in the Anatomy Department.

[P.1]

93. IMMENROTH, Wilhelm
Kultur und Umwelt der Kleinwüchsigen in Afrika. Leipzig, 1933. 378 p. illus. 113

p. 355-378

94. JOYCE, J.W
Report on the Masarwa in the Bamangwato Reserve Bechuanaland Protectorate.

League of Nations publications VI Slavery, C112, M98. Vol.6. 57-76. 1938.

95. KAUFMANN, Hans
Die ‡Auin ein Beitrag zur Buschmannforschung. illus.

Mitt. deuts. Schutz. 23(3): 135-160. 1910.

(A detailed account with excellent illustrations and sketches of weapons and information on Bushman music, dancing, religion, medicine, counting and other aspects of their social structure). 114

96. KIRBY, P.
A study of Bushman music.

B. Stud. 10: 206-252. 1936.

p. 250-252 Bibl.

97. KÖHLER, O.
A study of Grootfontein district (South West Africa). Pretoria, 1959.

Ethnological publication no. 45.

98. LAIDLER, P.W.
Bushmen of Namaqualand.
Man. 24: 140. Sep. 1924.

99. LAIDLER, P.W.
Hottentot and Bushman pottery of South Africa.

S. Afr. Jour. Sci. 26: 758-786. Dec. 1929.

100. LAIDLER, P.W.
South African native ceramics: their characteristics and classification. illus.

Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Afr. 26: (2) 7-172. Aug. 1936.
(Contains references to Bushman pottery).

101. LASCH, Richard, KRICKEBERG, Walter and HABERLANDT, Artur
Vergleichende Völkerkunde. Amerika-Afrika. Stuttgart, 1922. 3 vols.

Vol. 1. p. 604-610 Bushman

102. LEBZELTER, Viktor
Buschmänner Südwestafrikas.
Afr. 7(1): 70-81. June 1934.

103. **LEBZELTER, Viktor**
Eine Expedition sur umfassenden. Erforschung der Buschmänner in Südafrika. illus. 113

Anthrop. 22: 244-246. 1927
571-575

104. **LEBZELTER, Viktor**
Eingeborenenkulturen in Südwest-und Südafrika: wissenschaftliche ergebnisse einer Forschungsreise nach Süd-und Sudwestafrika in den Jahren 1926-1928. Leipsig, 1934. 306 p. illus.

p.5-106 Bushmen

(Deals with Angola Bushmen. ! Kung, Hei//om, Lake Chrissie, S.W.A. Historical references to Basutoland and Transkei Bushmen; a thorough study of social life and customs, beliefs etc. Excellent photographs of various Bushman types, their weapons and utensils). [101] [114] ●

105. **LEWIN, Louis**
Neue Untersuchungen über die Pfeilgifte der Buschmänner

Z. für Ethn. 44: 831-837

(Deals largely with the poisons used).

106. **LOGIE, A.C.**
Preliminary notes on some Bushman arrows from South West Africa. illus.

S. Afr. Jour. Sci. 32: 553-559. Nov. 1935.

107 **LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY REPORT**
The Masarwa (Bushmen) report of an enquiry by the South African District committee of the L.M.S. 1935. 33 p.

108. **LUNKENBEIN, A.**
Der Buschmanns-revolver

Arch. für Anth. N.F. 19: 173-177. 1923

109. **LUSCHAN, F. von**
Bericht über eine Reise in Südafrika.

Z. für Ethn. 38(6) 863-895, 1906.

110. **LUSCHAN, F. von**
Buschmann-Einritsungen aus Straussenseiern. illus.
Z. für Ethn. 55(1): 31-40. 1923.

111. **MACRAN, F.B.**
The Batwa in the Broken Hill district of Northern Rhodesia, map.

N.A.D.A. 7: 63-75. 1926.
(very brief account of the Batwa of the swamps, in which they are compared with the Balenji).

/121/ Marshall shows how specific customs reflect the dominant quest for water, and she portrays the feeling of Bushman culture as well as providing an ethnologist's construct. In this configurational model focusing on ethos, she indicates how derived themes or postulates, such /171/ as the stress on cooperation, relate to the most basic theme. Comparison of the !Kung Bushmen with the Mbuti Pygmies, the other foraging group represented in this book, reveals that even though these groups occupy very different habitats some features of their cultures are similar. These include not only elements of technology, for example, the use of poisoned arrows, but themes such as the stress on cooperation and the minimising of intragroup conflicts, features that are a functional requisite for the close, face-to-face relationships in a foraging /121/ band. Thus a study of the Bushmen offers insight into what may be minimal and hence universal features of the foraging band as a culture type.

Bushman culture is also of interest to those concerned with African culture history, for archaeological remains of societies with a similar material culture have been discovered scattered over a much wider region of the eastern part of the continent than the Bushmen now occupy. Many anthropologists feel that the bearers of these early cultures were Bushmen, or Bushmanlike in racial type. An understanding of Bushman culture gives us insight into the cultural and behavioral setting to which the mute artifacts may have belonged.

about the author

114 [101] Lorna Marshall lives in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and, with members of her family, has conducted several expeditions to the Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa (1951, 1952–1953, 1955, 1959, 1961), of Bechuanaland Protectorate (1955, 1961), and of southeast Angola (1959). She received her M.A. from Radcliffe College in 1928. Her writings include "The Kin Terminology System of the !Kung Bushmen" (1957), "N!ow" (1957), "Marriage among the !Kung Bushmen" (1959), "!Kung Bushman Bands" (1960), "Sharing, Talking and Giving: Relief of Social Tensions among !Kung Bushmen" (1961), and "!Kung Bushman Religious Beliefs" (1962).

guages, some now virtually extinct, were characterized by a fifth click made 194
with the lips, called the kiss click (⊙). In addition to clicks, the Bushman 197
languages have tones: high, middle, low, rising, and falling. Oswin Köhler [114]
has given special attention to tone as well as to other features in his study
of Bushman languages, especially Barakwenga (Köhler 1962).

Each of the large divisions of the Bushman languages—the northern, 197
central, and southern divisions (see Bleek 1956)—differs markedly from the
others. Within each group are several languages, sometimes resembling each
other enough to be considered merely dialects of the same language, but
more often differing so widely as to be distinct, mutually quite unintelligible
languages. The !Kung described in this chapter (Köhler's and Westphal's
!Xũ) belong to the northern group.

HABITAT • The Kalahari Desert, some 1200 miles long, with a mean high 133
altitude of about 3000 feet, forms part of the great plateau of southern
Africa. It is a basin in form, covered with wind-blown sands, sometimes red, [134]
sometimes white, to a depth of 300 to 400 feet. The underlying rock crops
out rarely in ridges and a few low hills.

Stamp (1953:78) classifies the Kalahari as a semidesert. Its conditions 132
are not the most extreme. Our expeditions recorded daytime air temperatures
in the shade up to 115° F. and sand temperatures in the sun up to 140° F. In
winter the temperature at night falls below freezing but for most of the year
the nights are temperate. Although they seem acclimated to the heat, the [142]
Bushmen appear to find the colder temperatures very uncomfortable and
shiver violently if they are away from their fires when the cold south winds
blow.[8]

The rainfall, which comes in summer thunderstorms—6 to 10 inches, increasing 137
in the better-watered parts toward the north, according to Wellington [132]
(1955:61)—though slight, is sufficient to sustain a varied drought-resistant
vegetation, and the country is covered with grass, brush, and scant
small trees. In the northern and northwestern parts, the trees are more [824]
numerous and taller and include shivi groves and nut-bearing mangetti—
important sources of food to the Bushmen. And in all the areas of the desert
that Bushmen inhabit are found edible plants, in scant, far-apart patches perhaps,
but existing. The vegetation, furthermore, provides material for fires, 824
shelter, weapons, implements, tanning, poison for arrows, and juices (for example
tsama melons, on which these people can live when there is no water).
In short, this desert provides the things that make life possible; otherwise
the Bushmen would be dead or somewhere else.

The desert is a forceful shaper of the outlines of Bushman culture, and 182
both the possibilities it permits and the limitations it imposes have been meaningfully [114]
summarized by Robert Story in a personal communication:

drama, of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them, in the 755
Aristotelian sense. Fear and hostility find an outlet and the people have acted 535
together to protect themselves. In this there are support and solace and hope. 154

CHANGE

Today (1962) the pattern of life for the Nyae 177
Nyae !Kung has begun to change radically. Many Bushmen of other language
groups have had prolonged contact with the Bantu peoples among
whom they live, and some have worked on Europeans' farms. Systematic [114] ●
studies of their social changes are lacking. The Nyae Nyae !Kung, as described
here, had contact with Herero and Tswana neighbors in trade, but
this contact did not appear to change the social structure of the independent
!Kung. They are only now beginning to feel the impact of European contact.
They were remote; they are no longer so. When, in 1951, we first [122]
worked our way to their area from the outposts of the farm lands, we were
eight arduous days en route, in trackless, waterless country of bush and heavy
sand, our four trucks heavy with water and petrol, equipment and supplies.
Today a well-cleared track gives access in a day. Farmers began to come into
the area to get the Bushmen to work for them and have their eyes upon
the land.

The government of South West Africa, realizing the problem of the 645
Bushmen, has appointed one of their most competent administrators of native 177
affairs to be Bushman Affairs Commissioner, and is supplying him with funds
and equipment. He and his wife are in the Nyae Nyae area and are working
with several families of !Kung. He is leading one group of them into agriculture [244]
and this year they harvested a crop of corn. Others of the men are employed [260]
in road building and are being paid a cash wage, currently a shilling [44[illegible]]
a day. It is too early to say what will happen to their social forms in so
radical a change, which ones they will lose entirely, which they will retain
and adapt to new conditions. All we know is that the !Kung who are taking
part in the experiment have expressed themselves as willing and anxious to
try to develop a new way of life.

NOTES

(1) Some of the ethnographic material used here has been previously published 114
in my articles in *Africa* which are cited in the bibliography appended to
this chapter. The ethnographic material is used with the permission of the
International African Institute and the editor of *Africa*.

(2) Skeletal remains of Bushmen are found associated with late stone age implements 172
in South Africa, but not with early or middle stone age (Schapera 172

174 1951:26). In East Africa are sites indicating that people of common
[172] origin with Bushmen inhabited those regions, and this suggests that Bushmen
in past ages migrated from the northeast (Schapera 1951:27) into South
Africa, where they distributed themselves from the Zambesi River to the Cape
of Good Hope. Hottentots also came into southern Africa—from East Africa
in all probability—bringing with them herds of cattle. Bantu-speaking Negro
tribes migrated into southern Africa, it is believed during the fourteenth and
fifteenth centuries. White settlers began in 1652 to establish themselves at
177 the Cape of Good Hope. Negroes, Hottentots, and whites encroached upon
Bushmen, who were expelled from the better-watered lands or assimilated or
131 exterminated. With the exception of a few individuals, the surviving Bushmen are found now only in the Kalahari Desert.

131 (3) The numbers of Bushmen found in various political divisions in 1955 as
162 listed by Tobias (1956) are as follows:

Bechuanaland Protectorate	31,000
South West Africa	20,311
Angola	4,000
Northern Rhodesia	200
Union of South Africa	20

144 (4) Hooton classified Bushmen and Hottentots as a composite race, predominantly
Negroid (1946:628) "whose racial ambiguity will probably continue to haunt
us" (p. 633). [Cf. Schapera (1951:27), who says that it is generally regarded that Pygmies and Bushmen probably both diverged from a small
variety of Negro; and Tobias (1961:19) who points out that no fossil remains have yet been found to provide definite evidence of this.] The resemblance of some of the physical characteristics of Bushmen to those of Mongolians is generally thought to be fortuitous (cf. Tobias 1957:4 ff.). Coon
(1962:193) places the Bushmen among "tag-ends of ancient humanity,
culturally as well as physically archaic," hard for classifiers to "fit into cate-
● [114] gories, let alone explain." The reader is referred to Schapera (1951) and
Howells (1959) for judicious presentations of what is and is not known
about these peoples.

114 (5) Studies on the adaptation of the Bushmen to heat and cold have been pub-
147 lished by Wyndham and Morrison (1956).

224 (6) The nature of the Bushman hunt is graphically and empathetically portrayed
126 in a most effective and widely acclaimed film, "The Hunters," made by Mrs.
Marshall's son, John Marshall, while following !Kung hunters. Information
about purchase or rental of the 70-minute film may be obtained from The
Film Study Center, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.—Ed.

553 (7) I think that in the name relationship of the !Kung we can see the potential
602 beginnings of a kin group. It would seem that it could be a *deme* if it existed.
121 A deme is a name Murdock proposed for a bilateral endogamous local group,
in the absence of unilinear descent, "comparable to the sib both in size and
in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10

PREFACE

[p. i]

114 The Bushmen of southern Africa have long held a fascination for anthropologists because of their unusual language, culture and physical type. Physical anthropologists have been intrigued by the apparently unique morphological adaptations of the Bushmen (such as steatopygia and the tablier) and the problem of the racial status of the Bushmen (Broom 1941, Coon 1955, 1962, Dart 1937, DeVilliers 1961, Tobias 1961, 1964). Linguists have focussed attention on the unique click languages of the Bushmen (W.H.I. Bleek and Lloyd 1911, D.F. Bleek 1929, 1956, Vedder 1910-11, Maingard 1957, Westphal 1963).

It is curious, in light of this interest, that, until recent years, professional investigations of Bushman sociology and ecology have been conspicuously lacking in the literature. In 1930, Schapera summarized the information then available on Bushmen. His sources consisted mainly of the accounts of early travellers such as Barrow (1801-04), Burchell (1822-24), Baines (1864), and Chapman (1868), as well as the reports of administrators in the German South West African government such as Werner (1906), Seiner (1913), and Passarge (1905, 1907).

With the exception of Bleek's monograph on the Naro (1928b), which discussed social organization, all of Schapera's

114 sources consisted of fragments of information or were based on the memory ethnography of highly acculturated Bushmen. J.H. Wilhelm's account of !Kung social structure is perhaps the best of the early research, but this study, written in 1917, was not published until 1953 and therefore was not available to Schapera. In spite of the works of Bleek (1928b) and Wilhelm (1953), our information on the social organization and economy of Bushmen at the turn of the century is extremely sparse. Thus the students of Bushman culture have had no baseline study available to them such as the classic researches of Spencer and Gillen (1899, 1904, etc.) on the Australian aborigines.

Schapera's task in his classic, "The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa" (1930), was to salvage the ethnographic facts of a dying way of life. The tone of his book is set by the statement: "There seems little doubt that the Bushmen are steadily dying out as a race. What relentless persecution at the hands of other peoples has not achieved is being slowly accomplished by disease and racial intermixture. Racially pure Bushmen are already in a minority and their ultimate absorption by their neighbors is probably inevitable." (1930:40).

This point of view prevailed for the twenty years following the publication of "The Khoisan Peoples" and was

114 manifested by a virtual absence of sociological research among
the Bushmen during the 1930's and 40's.

It was not until the 1950's that it became apparent that
Schapera's obituary on the Bushmen was premature. We owe this
realization to the recent research and writing of Mr. and Mrs.
Laurence K. Marshall and Professor Phillip V. Tobias. The
Marshalls began their investigations of Bushman life in 1951.
[161] In the interior of the northwestern Kalahari they found over
1,000 Bushmen organized into hunting and gathering bands. This
was, and is, a full-scale viable way of life of a type that was
believed no longer to exist. Professor Tobias, after visiting
the Kalahari with the Panhard-Capricorn Expedition of 1950,
was led to believe that the numbers of surviving Bushmen had
[161] been vastly underestimated. His subsequent research (1956,
1957) showed that there were over 50,000 living Bushmen and
that thousands of the Bushmen were living as hunter-gatherers.

[121]. Due to the stimulus of the Marshalls and Tobias, anthropologists realized that excellent research opportunities among
the Bushmen had been overlooked, simply because of the mistaken
notion that the hunting and gathering way of life had ceased to
121 exist. Thus in recent years the style of Bushman research
has been transformed from a salvage operation to the study
of viable ongoing social and economic systems; and with the
acquisition of new data has come a basic reorientation of our

121 view of the Bushmen. The present study is a contribution to this reorientation and, as such, has implications, not only for Bushman studies, but for the study of hunters and gatherers in general.

The study of subsistence ecology focusses attention on those aspects of the man/environment relation which pertain to the getting of food. Since there are populations of Bushmen available which still maintain a full-time, year-round, hunting and gathering way of life, an investigation of subsistence ecology can be founded on a firm empirical basis. The investigator does not have to rely on the memory of informants concerning conditions no longer in existence.

121 Another recent study - of the subsistence activities of
• 114 Australian aborigines in Arnhem Land (McCarthy and McArthur 1960)
171 - offers an instructive contrast to the present study. Both studies are concerned with the subsistence ecology of hunter-gatherers. The difference lies in the fact that the Australian groups studied spent the greater part of each year living on mission stations where they ate European foods. Consequently, the Australian scientists could observe traditional food getting for two week periods that were bracketed by periods of residence on the mission stations. The Bushman study, on the other hand, is a continuous record of hunting and gathering
121 activities extending over a fifteen month period. The Dobe area
222 Bushmen were hunting and gathering for the simple reason that
224

. . . . .

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

122 It is a great pleasure to be able to thank at least some of the people and institutions who have made possible this study of the Kalahari Bushmen. The research was supported by a grant from the National Science Foundation to Dr. Irven Devore for "Studies in the Evolution of Human Behavior". This grant was administered by Harvard University. [114] The government of the Bechuanaland Protectorate was kind enough to issue a research permit to Dr. Devore and me for the period 1963-65. The Directors of the Livingstone Museum[1], Livingstone Zambia allowed us to use the museum as a base of operations during the study period, and graciously placed the clerical and research facilities of the museum at our disposal.

000 I am grateful for the initial encouragement and continuing guidance of my undergraduate and graduate teachers, particularly Professors Ronald Cohen[2], Robert C. Dailey, and J. Norman Emerson at the University of Toronto; and Professors Sherwood L. Washburn and J. Desmond Clark at the University of California, Berkeley.

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1. formerly the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum.
2. at present at Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

121 (George Silberbauer) was already conducting research among the Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve.

After DeVore's return to Harvard in September, the author surveyed the Ngamiland situation and found that the Bushman population in the northwestern sector satisfied our research requirements.

161 312 621 224 222 648 In October, 1963, there were about 430 Bushmen living at nine waterholes in the !Kangwa administrative district. Over 70% of these people were organized into bands and depended on hunting and gathering for their subsistence. Although some 340 Bantu lived in the district they had not established a lord-client relationship over the Bushmen. This feudal type of social system exists elsewhere in the Kalahari but not in 114 the !Kangwa district. The author was the first white person to live in the district. The Marshall expeditions had touched the western edge of the district but had centered their research at /Gautscha, a camp about 40 miles west of our area.

The main field station was set up at Dobe, a small waterhole in Bechuanaland, two miles east of the Bechuanaland - South West Africa border. The author conducted research here for twelve months, except for intervals of work elsewhere in the Kalahari and study periods in Livingstone, Johannesburg, Windhoek and Capetown.

In October, 1964, Irven and Nancy DeVore joined the author

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 6]

I. INTRODUCTION

121 This dissertation is a report on the results of a field
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122 investigation of Kalahari Bushmen in 1963-64. The research was supported by a grant from the National Science Foundation
121 entitled: Studies in the Evolution of Human Behavior. The section of the research proposal devoted to Bushmen outlined five major areas of investigation:

1. Census
2. Demography
3. Subsistence
4. Social organization
5. Settlement patterns

The data obtained in the areas of census and subsistence are presented here. Further data on demography, social organization and settlement patterns are summarized here and will be expanded in subsequent publications.

The Bushman research project was conceived to answer a need on the part of archeologists and other students of human evolution for accurate, quantitative information on the subsistence and society of a contemporary hunting and gathering people. It was hoped that such a study would generate new insights on cultural evolution and aid in the task of interpreting archeological materials. The primary task was to define the properties of a hunting and gathering way of life.

121 This statement was then to be employed as a basis for comparison with other living hunting and gathering societies and the generalizations so derived were to be used as a baseline for the reconstruction of the properties of societies and economies of earlier populations of man.

Of the three stages in this research scheme, description, comparison and reconstruction, only the first stage is presented in this dissertation viz the description of the subsistence of one hunting and gathering people.

The Kalahari Bushman study began in August 1963, when Irven DeVore and the author made a reconnaissance of the northern Kalahari Desert to look for a suitable study site. The research goals required a population as isolated and traditionally oriented as possible. Three locations were considered (see Map 1).

1. The Bushman Native Reserve, South West Africa
2. The Central Kalahari Game Reserve, Bechuanaland
3. Northwestern Ngamiland

[114] South West Africa proved to be out of the question. For political reasons foreign scientists are not being permitted to work among the indigenous peoples. The British colonial government of Bechuanaland, on the other hand, has encouraged social scientists from abroad to come and work among the tribes. Our decision to work in northwestern Ngamiland was dictated by the fact that a government-appointed anthropologist

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 4]

TABLE 1

Periods of Research, Camps and Seasons of the Kalahari Bushman Study

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Period	Location	Season
1963		
August	on survey, northern Kalahari	winter, cool dry
October-December	Dobe	end of hot dry, small rains, main rains
1964		
January-February	Tsodilo	main rains
late February-end April	Dobe	end rains, onset of winter dry
early May	Tsodilo	onset of winter dry
mid June	on survey, southern Kalahari	winter cold dry
late June-early September	Dobe area	winter cold dry
September	Kuli-Ghanzi	spring hot dry
late October-December	Dobe area	end of hot dry, small rains
1965		
early January	Dobe-Maun	small rains

114 and we worked jointly at Dobe until the study terminated on January 8, 1965. The study dates and places are summarized in Table 1.

A note on orthography

197 The linguistic status of the !Kung Bushmen will be dis-
194 cussed in Chapter II. As there is still no general agreement among linguists on the phonemes of the !Kung language, a brief list of phonemes is offered here to facilitate the pronounciation of Bushman words used in the text.[1]

Vowels

1. i - as in English "fit, feet"
2. e - as in English "fate, fed"
3. ə - as in English "the, but"
4. u - as in English "book, boor"
5. o - as in English "bore, ball"
6. a - as in English "bat, bar"

Dipthongs

7. au - as in "cow, now, thou"
8. ai - as in "by, sky, bite"
9. ei - close to "bay, bait"
10. iu - no English equivalent; falls between "see" and "Sue"

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[1] A phonemic analysis of !Kung is in preparation and will be presented elsewhere. The present listing is oversimplified.

II. THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE BUSHMEN

Defining Bushmen

101 Bushmen may be defined racially, linguistically or
culturally. None of these criteria used alone will give a
142 satisfactory definition. If the presence of "Bush" physical
144 type is used as the criterion of Bushman status, then some
members of Hottentot tribes would be incorrectly included,
and members of the hybridized Bushmen peoples of Ngamiland
197 would be excluded. Similarly the presence of a click non-
121 Bantu language would include not only Hottentots again, but
also the Hottentot speaking negroid Bergdama of South West
224 Africa, and the Hadza-Sandawe peoples of Tanganyika. A
222 464 strictly economic criterion, such as the presence of a hunting
648 and gathering way of life would arbitrarily exclude the many
241 233 thousands of Bushmen who are working on European Farms or
practicing agriculture and pastoralism.

114 A further complication in defining Bushmen is offered by
197 the recent work of Westphal (1962a,1962b,1963). He has demonstrated that the so-called Central Group of Bushman languages
of Bleek (1929) are in fact closely related to Hottentot.

101 In this paper a simple ethnic definition of Bushmen is
[114] adopted, following the lead of Joyce (1939) and Tobias (1956).
Throughout Bechuanaland, the Tswana word "sarwa" is applied to

101 non-Bantu, click-speaking peoples with a tradition of hunting and gathering in their recent past. Thus we may define Bushmen as members of tribes who are acknowledged to be "sarwa" by themselves and others. The term "sarwa" thus includes peoples of varying physical type and economy, and of four distinct linguistic stocks within the click family of languages. The one characteristic common to them all is the tradition of hunting and gathering. The economic and linguistic divisions will be elaborated below.

Numbers and distribution

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114 The Bushmen are numerically stronger than has been generally supposed. Estimates such as Schapera's 7,000-7,500 (1930), Keith's 6,000 (1948), and Coon's "few hundred" (1955) are far too low. Despite Tobias' careful estimate of 55,000 living Bushmen (1957), the older misconceptions still persist. As recently as 1963, Bohannan estimated the numbers of living Bushmen in the hundreds (Bohannan 1963:213).

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127 The author's estimate, based on data available in 1964, shows a total figure rather smaller than that of Tobias' 55,000. It is estimated that there are about 44,100 Bushmen alive today. This figure is based on published sources and unofficial government estimates for Bechuanaland. For South West Africa, the figures are adapted from the Odendaal Commission Report (Republic of South Africa, 1964). For Angola,

Languages

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114 Due to the recent work of Westphal (1962a,1962b,1963), the classification and geography of the click languages has been put on a firmer footing. The author's observations confirm Westphal's scheme in its essentials, but differ on certain details.

197 Among the peoples called Sarwa there are two major linguistic subdivisions:

1. A group of genetically related languages which collectively and individually are related to the Nama and Korana dialects of Hottentot. These languages are called by Westphal Tshu-khwe and were formerly known as the Central group of Bushmen languages.

2. Three languages which are distinct from the Hottentot-related group and distinct from one another. These Westphal calls "Bush A, B, and C." Bush A used to be known as Northern Bushman, Bush B and C as Southern Bushman.

The distribution of these languages is plotted on Map 3, p. 16.

Tshu-khwe - Five related languages are distinguished here. It appears that adjacent dialects are mutually intelligible, but speakers of languages that are geographically separated cannot understand each other.

The five languages are:

XŨ - known as Kwengo in Barotseland, Hukwe in the Eastern

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 17]

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Caprivi, and Bukakwe in the Western Caprivi; also found in southeastern Angola.

Shua - the major click language of the Panda-ma-tenga area; also includes Danisin and other dialects of the Mababe area.

//gabake - Hiechware and Ganade are included here; spoken at Panda-ma-tenga, Nata and possibly in the Wankie area; very closely related to Shua.

Deti - the language of the Tete or Tletle people who live along the Botlete River; not mutually intelligible with //gabake although they are genetically related.

Nharo - the main click language spoken on the Ghanzi Farms; there are several important related dialects: N/hai, spoken in the Lake Ngami area,[1] //gana of Central Bechuanaland, and /Gwi of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve.

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For a more complete catalogue of dialects, the reader is referred to Westphal (1963:248ff). His use of the term Hottentot to apply to the above peoples who are ethnically Bushmen is unfortunate, since he has not demonstrated that the Tshu-khwe peoples are, in fact, derived from the Hottentot. It is more likely that both are derived from a common

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[1] Westphal considers this as a separate language. I found it to be only a dialect of Nharo.

197 [114] proto-Hottentot, proto-Bushman ancestor.

Bush - Unlike the five Tshu-khwe languages, the three Bush languages cannot, on the basis of accepted linguistic procedures, be shown to be genetically related. The author, in an attempt to replicate Westphal's vocabulary comparisons, made a lexicostatistic trial on two languages: Bush A (!Kung), and Nharo (a Tshu-khwe language). The percentage of cognates was 11.5% but no rules of regularized sound shifts could be demonstrated between the two languages. Therefore the possibility is strong that the incidence of cognates is fortuitous or due to borrowing. The same low order of cognation was found when Bush A was lexicostatistically compared with Bush B.

The three Bush languages are:

A. !Kung; the subject of this dissertation. Also known in the literature as Kung, !xũ, Auen, Kaukau, and //au//ei; !Kung speakers extend from the Ghanzi farms in the south through western Bechuanaland and northeastern South West Africa, north into Angola.

B. ǂhũa; also known as Magong, !xõ (not to be confused with !xũ), !xoŋ, ʘwaʘwani.[1] These people live south of Ghanzi farms and extend into the Kalahari Gemsbok Game Reserve of South Africa.

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[1] ʘ is the symbol for the 5th Bushman click, known as the kiss click. This click is confined to Bush B, C and D languages and therefore not considered in the linguistic sketch of Chapter I.

197 C. -ŋ/huki; also known as ≠khomani (Doke 1936) and //n-!ke (Bleek 1929). A very small group now confined to the Gemsbok Park.

The numerical strength of the various Tshu-khwe and Bush languages are estimated as follows:

Xũ (Kwengo)	2,000
Shua (Danisin etc.)	3,000
//gabake (Hiechware etc.)	10,000
Deti (Tletle)	2,000
Nharo (/gwi, //gana etc.)	9,000
Bush A (!Kung)	13,000
Bush B (≠hũa)	1,600
Bush C (ŋ/huki)	50
TOTAL	40,650

The remaining 3,450 Bushmen of the estimated total of 44,100 include over 3,000 Hai//om (Heikum) in South West Africa. These people speak a dialect of Nama Hottentot and have a tradition of hunting and gathering although only a small proportion do so today. Also included in the remainder are a small group of people around Lake Chrissie in the
[101] Eastern Transvaal. They are locally known as Batwa and number
[114] less than one hundred. Westphal includes them as his Bush D language and calls them "//xegwi." (See also Lanham and Hallowes 1956; Potgieter and Ziervogel 1955).

The economic position

114 Tobias erred when he estimated that in 1956, 35,000 of
224 the 55,000 Bushmen "lead a hunting and food-gathering life,
222 barely removed from that of the late Upper Palaeolithic or
161 of the South African Later Stone Age." (1957:33). The first comment concerns the numbers of Bushmen still hunting; the second the "primitiveness" of the modern Bushmen hunters.

162 Of the 15,000 Bushmen in South West Africa at least
131 9,500 are working on European farms. An additional 3,000
464 are either working for Bantu agriculturalists or practicing
648 agriculture and stock-keeping themselves. (Republic of
224 South Africa 1964:29,41). This leaves 2,500 as hunter-gatherers in South West Africa.

In Bechuanaland an estimated 16,300 Bushmen work on European farms or Bantu cattle posts. A further 2,000 are practicing a mixed agricultural and hunting way of life. The remaining 6,100 lead a hunting and gathering way of life. The main concentrations of the latter are in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (3,000) and in western Ngamiland (1,600).

The Batwa of the Lake Chrissie area have been working on European farms for nearly a century (Potgieter and Ziervogel 1955:3). The Bushmen in the Gemsbok Park are a major tourist attraction, but may do some hunting.

In Rhodesia, the Bushmen in the Wankie area are all

162 working on farms. Many of the Pandamatenga Bushmen work in
131
464 Victoria Falls and Livingstone. Some have gone as far afield
648 as Lusaka and Salisbury looking for work. The Kwengo Bushmen
224 of Barotseland no longer maintain a hunting way of life.
(Clark, personal communication). Their numbers are estimated
at 200.

161 This tally of Bushmen hunter-gatherers gives a total of
162
224 9,300 against an overall total of 44,100 Bushmen. Twenty
222 percent of the Bushmen hunting full time seems a much more
[114] reasonable proportion than Tobias' 64 percent. It is unlikely
that a change of such magnitude could have occurred between
the date of his census (1956) and the present one (1964).

162 The figure of 9,300 is nevertheless quite substantial
224
222 and indicates the remarkable persistance of the hunting-
178 gathering way of life in spite of the fact that even the most
isolated of the hunting tribes maintain close contact with
184 their European and Bantu neighbors. A large proportion of
[221] the /Gwi Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve spend
[648] part of the dry season squatting on European farms adjacent
[312] to their area. In the north the hunting !Kung often share
[464] their waterholes with Bantu cattle herders. Most of the
[233] young !Kung men spend a year or more working as cattle herds
on a contract basis.

000 As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had

The !Kung Bushmen

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131 The !Kung are the most numerous of the surviving Bushman
162 tribes. Of the estimated total of 13,000, about 3,000 live in Angola, 2,000 in Bechuanaland, and 8,000 in South West Africa. The !Kung occupy a remarkably large area. Their country extends from north to south for a distance of 500 miles, and from east to west for a distance of 300 miles (see Map 5).

101 Two criteria clearly distinguish the !Kung from all other
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553 Bushman peoples: their language and their unique system of
19 personal naming. The !Kung language has phonological features in common with adjacent Tshu-khwe and Hottentot languages, such as the four click system and the strong glottal releases. However, the vocabulary and grammar of !Kung sets it apart from the other click languages. A lexicostatistic comparison of !Kung and Nharo showed a low incidence of cognates (11.5%).
● [114] The grammar of !Kung has yet to be adequately described, but
[193] none of the preliminary work by Doke (1925), Bleek (1929), Maingard (1957), and Westphal (1962, 1963:244) has been able to demonstrate a genetic relationship of !Kung grammar to the grammars of the other click languages.

There are no semi-!Kung languages (although the vocabulary of the southern dialect has been influenced by contact with Nharo) and therefore a native speaker of !Kung is immediately identified as a member of the !Kung tribe. This holds

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131
131 this area is waterless and uninhabited. In the center is a
312 ring of pans and a series of waterholes which support at
133 present a population of 1,200 !Kung Bushmen. They occupy an
[162] area of about 3,500 square miles (70 miles from east to west
x 50 miles from north to south). This central complex of
water sources is surrounded by a belt of waterless, uninhabited
country that varies in width from sixty miles, on the east
and north, to over one hundred miles on the west and south.
Access to the interior is limited. One line of wells links
Tsumkwe in the interior with Grootfontein on the west.

[491] Two rarely used motor tracks join the interior with the
Okavango swamp to the east. A police patrol road cut in
1954-55 runs from south to north along the B.P./S.W.A. border.
The maximum vehicle speed obtainable on these tracks is 20 mph
[177] and trucks pass through about once a month. The difficulty
of the terrain, the lack of farming potential, and the scarcity
of water have deterred European and Bantu penetration of the
area.

[114] The distinction between periphery and interior has been applied to the country of the central !Kung by John Marshall (1957) and Lorna Marshall (1960:327ff). The present usage differs from that of the Marshalls. They applied the term "interior" to the Nyae Nyae ring of pans and regarded the waterholes at /"ai/"ai, /Gam, and !angwa as peripheral. Since

III. THE DOBE AREA: ITS PEOPLES AND HISTORY

131 Dobe, a small waterhole on the South West Africa/ [114] Bechuanaland border, ninety miles west of Nokaneng, B.P., was the location of the author's main field camp. The term, "Dobe area", as used in this report refers to the country [312] within a thirty mile radius of the Dobe well. This includes the eleven permanent waterholes which support the entire population of Bushmen and Bantu in the Bechuanaland sector [224] of the !Kung interior. The Dobe area also includes a large [222] tract of ground in South West Africa where Bechuanaland Bushmen traditionally go to hunt and gather. It does not include the Nyae Nyae pans, /gam and Tsumkwe in South West Africa, or the more distant waterholes at n!aun!au, at !âdumµ, or at Tsodilo Hills in Bechuanaland (see Map 8).

Dobe is not the cultural or administrative center of the settlements of the interior !Kung. On the contrary, Dobe is the most isolated of the waterholes on the Bechuanaland side. The term "Dobe area" is applied here simply as a matter of convenience.

To reach the Dobe area by truck, one drives west from the Batawana town of Nokaneng which is situated on the western edge of the Okavango swamps. After traversing uninhabited country for 67 miles the traveller arrives at

IV. THE ENVIRONMENT

131 The area under consideration is a tract of land in Bechuanaland and South West Africa. The boundaries are the Okavango River on the north and east, the Ghanzi Farms on the south, and the edge of the South West African Escarpment on the west. The area thus defined (excluding transitional zones on the edges) is c. 160 miles x 160 miles = 25,600 sq. miles.

133 The area is characterized by a series of fixed dunes running parallel to each other 5-50 miles in length oriented approximately W 10° N / E 10° S. In the spaces between the dunes, 1-5 miles in width, are basins or molapos. "Molapo" is a Sechuana word meaning dry river bed. It is used throughout the thesis when referring to the longitudinal depressions between the dunes as well as the more deeply incised river valleys that do not conform to the parallel
[114] patterning of the dunes. "Molapo" is the Sechuana equivalent of "omaramba", a Herero word used by J. Marshall (1957), Story (1958), and others.

The combination of basin and dune forms a remarkably uniform pattern from north to south. At several points the landscape is incised by deeper drainage systems that expose the bedrock. The molapo dune pattern is also interrupted by

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146 totalling 36 lbs. This meat (490 lbs.) went to feed a camp of 42 people (exclusive of visitors).

A rough calculation of the weight of meat per person per day through this 28-day period gives a figure of 6-2/3 oz. of meat. The daily intake of vegetable foods per person during the same period can be estimated at 24 oz. (of mongongo nuts and various roots). Therefore a reasonable estimate of the ratio of meat to vegetables in the diet of this camp is 25%-75%.

This ratio is based on observations at one camp during
[114] one season only. It can be said, however, that George Silberbauer, Laurence and Lorna Marshall, and the author are in general agreement that meat comprises between 20% and 40% by weight of the Bushman diet (Silberbauer, 1965:28; Marshalls, personal communication).

5. Late Winter

221 There is a well-defined break point in the winter subsistence cycle between the early period (May, June and July) of relative abundance and the late winter and spring period
221 of increasing food scarcity (August-September). Through the
222
462 early winter the Bushmen concentrate on the mongongo nut groves that are within a day's walk of permanent water. Groups of women go out once every three or four days, fill their karosses with nuts and return to the camp in the evening. The men

IX. FOOD, WORK AND LAND USE AMONG THE !KUNG BUSHMEN

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An observer planning to live with Bushmen is led to expect - from the ethnographic literature - that the Bushmen lead an arduous and exacting way of life, in which the problem of getting food is an overwhelming daily concern. Furthermore I had been told, by local Europeans, that the Bushmen were extremely shy and difficult to find, and that they were always on the move in their endless quest for game. Therefore I was unprepared for the situation in the Dobe area when I first arrived there at the end of the dry season of 1963; for camped at every waterhole were dozens of Bushmen who offered the outsider a hearty welcome and who were seemingly unconcerned by the problem of finding food.

During the course of the study, it became apparent that the Bushman subsistence was more substantial and secure than had been previously supposed. In the foregoing chapters the properties of their hunting and gathering way of life have been described. It will be appropriate, in this final chapter, to review the lines of evidence that bear on the problem of how such a carefree and secure existence is possible in a society of hunter-gatherers living in a harsh, semi-desert environment.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

TRIBE AND HUNTING BAND

ALL the Bushmen in their native condition lead a nomadic hunting 222
and collecting life, roaming about in search of the game and wild 224
vegetable foods upon which they depend for their existence. The [182]
conditions of their subsistence necessarily prevent them from banding
together permanently in any considerable numbers. Wherever they 621
still retain to any marked degree their original mode of life and
organization they are found scattered over the land in small separate
communities.[1] Each such community will be spoken of here as a
hunting band. The members of a band share a common life, they see
one another constantly, they co-operate in many ways, and they are
all as a rule friendly and on fairly intimate terms. Each band also [619]
has occasional relations with other neighbouring bands, through
intermarriage and trade, and visitors may pass from one to another.
On the other hand, there are often quarrels between neighbouring [628]
bands, which may result in a prolonged state of feud and even lead
directly to warfare.

The various bands among the Heikum are generally referred to 621
among each other by a name which indicates either the locality in 101
which they live, or describes some physical or other characteristic
of the band itself or of its locality. The *se-khoin*, for example, are the
people of the *seb* or plain; the *|gom-khoin* the people who eat the

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[1] The social organization of the Bushmen is one of the least-known aspects of their culture, and sadly needs careful and detailed investigation. The most reliable sources of information refer almost exclusively to the North-Western tribes: Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 1907; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910); (Miss) D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop., N.F.* 21 (1927); *idem*, *The Naron*, 1928; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928); L. Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," *J. SW. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6); *idem*, "The Bushmen of South-West Africa," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, 1928. The relevant literature on the other tribes is for the most part fragmentary, although some valuable data on the Namib Bushmen are given by Seydel, "Aus der Namib," *D. KolBl.*, xxxi (1910), and by Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910). Where no special reference is made to any particular tribe the analysis given above must therefore be regarded as applying especially to the North-Western tribes, who are also the only Bushmen still leading a fairly independent life. [114]

621 101 */gom* or omungete nut; and the *xom-khoin* the people who *xom* or scrape together, the name indicating their method of collecting salt on the Etosha Pan, along whose southern border they live.[1] How the bands are named in the other tribes is not clearly stated. In the [114] literature they are spoken of as a rule in terms of the locality they inhabit, but no indication is given whether this is also the name by which they call themselves and are known to their neighbours.

619 101 These hunting bands are grouped into what are here called "tribes". A tribe consists of a number of neighbouring bands, the members of which all speak what they themselves regard as one language. Each tribe has its own distinctive name. In the Southern and Central linguistic groups this usually ends in the word */ke* or *kwe* respectively, i.e. "people"; but in most cases the meaning of the name itself has not been recorded or can no longer be determined. The few tribal names which can be interpreted seem to refer to some general characteristic of the people themselves or of the country which they inhabit. The *//ŋ /ke*, for example, are the "home people"; the */tannekwe* the "river people"; the *Hiechware* the "people of the open country", and the */o /kū* the "forest people", while the */kū* (*Kung*) are simply "people", or, as they would interpret the name "Bushmen". The *Hei-//om*, again, derive their name from the [177] Hottentot words *heis*, tree or bush, and *//om*, to sleep, and are therefore the "tree-sleeping people", i.e. those who sleep under trees; while the term *Naron*, by which the *//aikwe* now sometimes speak of themselves, appears to have been applied to them originally by the Auen and to mean "people who are insignificant".

619 The tribe is fundamentally a linguistic group. It has no social [197] solidarity, and is of very little, if any, importance in regulating social life. There appears to be no tribal organization among the Bushmen, nothing in the nature of a central authority whose decisions are binding on all the members of the tribe, nor is collective action ever taken in the interests of the tribe as a whole. The tribe in fact is merely a loose aggregate of independent hunting bands which have a common language and name.

621 The band, and not the tribe, is the real political body among the Bushmen. Each band is autonomous, leading its own life independently of the others. Its affairs are as a rule regulated by the [623] skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men in general. In [622] the North-Western tribes, however, each band has also a chief, whose

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[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 50.

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114 There is unfortunately no reliable information available as to the
131 extent of territory occupied by the band. The only writer to touch on this question is Seiner, who estimates that in the Grootfontein
621 district in the north-east of South-West Africa the average hunting territory covers about 700 sq. km.[1] This figure, however, cannot be regarded even as approximate, for it is based on what is almost certainly an excessive estimate of the total Bushman population in that district.

Size of the Band

162 The number of people who make up a band varies from tribe to tribe, and even within the tribe itself, although it is never consider-
621 able. Some of the older writers on the Cape Bushmen speak of bands containing from one hundred to one hundred and fifty persons,[2] but groups much smaller in size are also mentioned.[3] Certainly in more recent times the number of families living together seldom exceeded three or four.[4] The remnants of the Namib Bushmen now also live in very small groups of only a few persons,[5] and so do the Hiechware in the Eastern Kalahari, where a band rarely has more than about twenty members.[6] Elsewhere Dornan states that he has seldom seen more than six or seven families together at a time, all told about thirty persons, and this was in a camp at permanent water.[7] The !O Kung in Angola are also found living together in very small bands. The largest group met by Miss Bleek consisted of sixteen men and fifteen women; everywhere else little parties were seen of from two to six men, with their wives and families.[8]

621 In considering these figures it must be remembered that the Cape
648 Bushmen were already being persecuted and dispersed, and their
[177] organization disintegrated, by their more powerful neighbours at the time when they came under observation, while the Namib Bushmen are now almost extinct and live in very unfavourable country. Whether they were formerly banded together in larger numbers there is no means of telling. The Hiechware and the !O Kung, again,

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[1] Seiner, loc. cit.

[2] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275; Burchell, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 53.

[3] Burchell, op. cit., i, 456; Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 48; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 144.

[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. viii.

[5] Trenk, op. cit., 166; Seydel, op. cit., 504; Range, *Landeskunde . . . des Namalandes*, 73.

[6] Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 90.

[7] Ibid., 130.

[8] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109.

are the serfs of the interdwelling Bantu, and the conditions under 621
which they live do not, therefore, permit of their association in 648
large groups.

In the tribes to the north-west who still retain to some extent 162
their own mode of life and organization the communities are on the
whole somewhat larger, although the numbers fluctuate a good deal. 621
In the Kaukauveld Passarge frequently saw bands of up to thirty persons, and in the Mahuraveld of between twenty and twenty-five persons.[1] Among the Naron, again, Miss Bleek speaks of a camp containing from sixty to eighty persons,[2] while among the Auen, according to Kaufmann, up to thirty families, i.e. about one hundred persons, may be found camping together.[3] Both writers agree, however, in stating that the numbers may at times be considerably less. Müller visited eight camps of Bushmen in the Kaukauveld, and the figures given by him show that in six of them the population ranged between thirty and seventy, while the remaining two had one hundred and fifty and two hundred inhabitants respectively.[4] Seiner, again, states that the bands of the Kung average fifty persons, although he mentions two encampments in the vicinity of Karakuwisa which were considerably larger[5]; while among the Tannekwe he found five encampments of Bugakwe, whose population he estimates altogether as two hundred and twenty, eight of Garikwe containing all told about four hundred and thirty persons, and one of Gokwe with ninety.[6]

Not too much weight can be laid on the actual figures given,
as for the most part they are based on what are obviously rough [114]
estimates, not accurate observations. There seems little doubt, however, that among the North-Western tribes the bands are on the whole more considerable than in any of the other tribes, and the average given by von François[7] of between fifty to sixty persons to a band may be taken as fairly representative, although as we have seen the numbers fluctuate a good deal.

Part of the difficulty in obtaining accurate information about the 166
size of the band lies in the fact that the families composing it are 361
not always found living together in one encampment. Within the 621

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[1] *Die Buschmänner*, 9, 10.
[2] *The Naron*, 4.
[3] "Die Auin," 136.
[4] "Erkundungsritt in das Kaukauveld," 530. The actual figures are: 150, 40, 70, 70, 200, 30, 50, and 30.
[5] "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303, 302.
[6] "Bereisung des Gebietes zwischen Okawango und Sambesi," 104.
[7] *Nama und Damara*, 234.

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obvious from the fact that although several chiefs were present, 361
there was no common supreme chief.[1] Such gatherings are only 619
temporary in nature, and produced by some special circumstance. 621
They cannot therefore be regarded as indicative of the normal [622]
groupings of the Bushmen.

Social Structure of the Band

Within the band the only division is into families. The family 592
among the Bushmen consists of a man and his wife or wives, together
with their dependent children. It is a unit of outstanding importance [595]
in their social and economic life. The members of a family usually live together in one hut; the children until they are mature remain under the direct control of their parents, are nourished and are educated by them; husband and wife jointly contribute to the maintenance of their household, and the domestic tasks and industries are apportioned between them according to fixed custom. The family, moreover, has much freedom of movement, and, as already mentioned, single families will often roam about separately for a while within the territory of their band.

The relationship between the different families constituting a band 114
is seldom defined clearly by the various observers. In particular 601
the information available about the kinship organization of the 602
Bushmen is very inadequate. Miss Bleek has recently published lists 621
of relationship terms for each of the three main linguistic groups defined by her.[2] From these it appears that among all the Bushmen there are, in addition to various descriptive terms of relationship, also certain terms applied not to individuals but to whole groups of different relatives, while still others are used reciprocally between people standing in a particular relationship to each other. Relationship terms of the last two types, when found in other societies, are usually indicative of a definite organization of the community on the basis of kinship; and it is probable therefore that some such
organization exists among the Bushmen as well. Unfortunately the 114
lists given by Miss Bleek appear to be drawn from vocabulary sources 601
rather than from an actual study of kinship itself, and cannot there-
fore be used with any degree of confidence. In any case they throw 114 602

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[1] Op. cit., 138, 155. It should be mentioned here that the figures given by Kaufmann are, as a rule, far in excess of those given by other writers of about the same time and on the same district (e.g. Müller, German official estimate), and cannot therefore be accepted without question. [114]

[2] "Bushman Terms of Relationship," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1924), 57–70.

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114 but little light on the social organization of the people, since the
602 information given about the rights and duties regulating the conduct
towards one another of people related either by consanguinity or
through marriage is somewhat meagre. But they suggest at least
that there is much in the social life of the Bushmen which could be
revealed by a careful study of the usages connected with kinship.

There is some evidence, however, to show that among the Cape
621 and Namib Bushmen, who as we have seen live in very small groups,
the members of such a group are as a rule all related either by consanguinity or through marriage. Of the Cape Bushmen, for example,
Miss Bleek says elsewhere: "They live in small family groups, and
have no chiefs. . . . Three or four huts stand together. In one is
the father, in others his married children. At most eight or ten huts
of connections were dotted about within a radius of a few miles from
the water, but this is an institution of later days . . . (at marriage)
[591] sometimes the young couple build their hut near the bridegroom's
father, sometimes near the bride's. They seem to keep the family
groups fairly even."[1] The accounts given by Trenk and especially
[114] by Seydel of the social structure of the band among the Namib
Bushmen are not nearly so definite, but on the whole seem to indicate
a similar principle of grouping.[2]

This is also found among the ǃO Kung of Angola, where again the
local groups are very small. The details given by Miss Bleek bring
out very clearly the structure of these groups[3]: "The families living
together are nearly always related; in two cases the men were
brothers-in-law, in the first the sister of one man was the wife of
the other, in the second the wives were half-sisters. A cousin of the
wives and an aunt resided with them. At another place I found a
father with his second wife and small children, a grown-up son with
wife and children, and a grown-up daughter whose husband was
temporarily absent. The next lot were uncle and nephews, then a
mother with married daughter, with a nephew and step-son of the
mother's. The last lot encountered, the horde on the Mushumbo,
consisted of an old man with two sons, several grandsons both in
the male and female line, a son-in-law and nephews and great-nephews,
mostly brother's descendants. He introduced himself as the 'father'
[888] of them all. Chiefs are non-existent, but deference is paid to the

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[1] *The Mantis and his Friends*, pp. viii, ix.
[2] Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib," 168, 170; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 304.
[3] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109.

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184 while of the Aikwe (Naron) Passarge says that a man wishing to marry
582 must select his bride from another band, since marriage within the
621 band is not permitted.[1] A few cases were found by Miss Bleek among
the Naron at Sandfontein in which both husband and wife were from
one village. The fact, however, that such marriages were regarded
by the people as being against the general rule indicates that here, too,
the tendency is to insist on marriage outside the band.[2]

After marriage the wife generally goes to live with her husband's
591 people, although the young couple may remain for some time with
183 the wife's parents before finally settling at the husband's home.[3]
As a rule, therefore, marriage is patrilocal. Among the Naron,
however, this rule is not always strictly observed, although it is
recognized. "Women are said to leave their own home on marriage,
and to be taken to the husband's home. But in a few months, when
the wife has settled down, it is customary for the young couple to
return to her parent's home and stay there until the first child is about
a year old, so that the girl may have her mother's help and advice.
Sometimes the son-in-law settles altogether with his wife's people,
but not always. In fact the Naron all say that a man must settle at
his father's place, though they do not always do so."[4] Passarge
114 indeed, goes so far as to assert of this tribe that the man definitely
591 joins the family of his wife, and becomes a member of their band [5]—
a fact which he interprets elsewhere as denoting that the Bushmen
are a matrilineal people.[6] It is far more probable, however, that he
was misled by the custom of temporary matrilocal marriage than that
the condition he describes is the normal rule. There is no other
evidence to support his statement that the Bushmen have matrilineal
institutions.

In fact the prevailing rule in these tribes that marriage should
be exogamous and patrilocal suggests rather the possibility that
621 the families constituting the band may be related to one another in
the male line. The only definite statement to this effect is about the
Heikum, of whom we are told by Fourie that a band consists of the

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[1] Op. cit., 105

[2] *The Naron*, 34.

[3] Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Vedder, loc. cit.; Fourie, op. cit., 93; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," (14).

[4] D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 66; cf. *idem*, *The Naron*, 34.

[5] Op. cit., 106: "Der Mann schliesst sich der Familie seiner Frau an und wird ein Mitglied der anderen Sippe."

[6] *Südafrika*, p. 252: "Jeder Stamm setzt sich aus Sippen zusammen, die bis zum heutigen Tage die matriarchalische Organisation beibehalten haben. Das geht daraus hervor, dass der Mann bei der Heirat zu der Horde der Frau übergeht."

male relatives of the chief with their wives and families.[1] The 621 relationship to one another of the families in the bands of the other [114] North-Western tribes is not indicated by our authorities. It is reasonable, however, to expect that most of them at least will be similarly connected, since as a rule married sons with their wives and [591] children will remain together in the same band as their father, while married daughters will leave it to join the bands of their husbands. Moreover, in case of divorce the children remain with their father, [586] and although unweaned children must go with their mother, they can be claimed later by him if he likes.[2]

Dornan says that "the Bushmen of the Kalahari are divided into 114 many small clans",[3] but the term "clan", as used by him, applies 614 sometimes to what has here been called a tribe, and sometimes to a hunting band. He speaks also of exogamous "totemic families" and "totemic clans" among the Hiechware and adjoining tribes, [177] but admits that here the occurrence of this "totemism" is the result of Bantu influence.[4] There is no evidence yet that definitely goes to show the existence of totemism among any of the other Bushman peoples.

Nor, as far as can be seen at present, is there any real clan organization among the Bushmen.[5] The bands of the Cape and Namib Bushmen and of the !O Kung are certainly not clans, while the little we know of the social structure of the band among the North-Western Bushmen does not in itself justify our regarding them as such. There is also nothing at all to indicate the existence of a clan organization cutting across the system of grouping into hunting bands.

It must again be emphasized, however, that our knowledge of the 621 social organization of the Bushmen is fragmentary, and that there 611 are many questions relating to the structure of the band about which no adequate information is available. We are nowhere told clearly, for instance, how membership of the band is determined among the North-Western Bushmen.[6] In general it would seem that children

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[1] Op. cit., 86.

[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 34; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157.

[3] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 67.

[4] Op. cit., 161; cf. 68, 128.

[5] The *clan* is commonly defined as "an exogamous, unilateral group of persons all the members of which are held to be related to one another and bound together by a common tie. This tie may be a belief in common descent from some ancestor, real or mythical, it may be the common possession of a totem, or the common habitation of a village or district" (*Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, 5th ed., p. 55). A patrilineal clan is one of which membership is determined by descent traced through the male line, i.e. a person belongs to the clan of his father and his clansmen are related to him primarily through his father. A matrilineal clan is one in which descent is similarly traced through the mother.

[6] Lebzelter, in his preliminary account of the Kung (op. cit.), says curtly (p. 14) that a boy belongs to the family of his father, a girl to that of her mother ("Die Knaben gehoren zur Sippe des Vaters, die Mädchen zu der der Mutter"). This statement is at variance with all so far known about the Bushmen, and needs to be confirmed before it can be accepted as accurate. [114]

361 [606] exists among the *Hei-//om* in common with other Bushman tribes."
Within the circle of huts towards the south is the hut of the adolescent
[882] young girls, and towards the north that of the adolescent young
men ; mature marriageable young women occupy huts next to those
of their parents in the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also
[589] visitors from any neighbouring group, live outside the circle of
married people. The dancing place is to the west within the circle.

"The large tree (*!heis*) in or near the centre of the *//gaus* is reserved
361 562 as a meeting place for men for ceremonial and other purposes. Women
are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered
underneath it. To this, however, there is one exception, namely,
[622] the wife (*gei-khois*) of the *gei-khoib* may go to it to obtain fire for
kindling the principal fire (*!ou-/ais*) or for other menial purposes
when required by her husband. With the exception of the chief
nobody is permitted to live in close proximity to this *!heis*. Under
[372] it is made the first fire (*!hei-/ais*) on the establishment of a new
[224] *//gaus* and underneath it is deposited, for distribution, all meat killed
in the chase."[1]

● 114 Fourie speaks of this camp arrangement as being present among
all the Bushmen in the northern parts of South-West Africa,[2] but the
361 only confirmation for this statement is given by Vedder, who just
hints at a similar arrangement of the camp among the Kung. "Where
several families live together," he says, "the huts are ranged in a
circle, the head of the group ("Dorfälteste") living in the east."[3]

592 Each family within the group has its own hut. Where the families
are polygynous, the wives may live together in the same hut if they
[595] get on well ; otherwise each will build herself a separate hut. Children
sleep with their parents until strong enough to go about by
themselves. The bigger boys and young bachelors sometimes share
[882] a hut together, but generally they sleep out in the open under a tree,
and only in very wet weather will their mothers in co-operation
build them a hut. Unmarried girls too old to sleep with their parents
also share a separate hut. An old widower may live alone, or with
[589] a boy ; a widow and her little children, where they do not live alone,
are generally quartered with the girls.[4]

342 The huts themselves (Plate VI) are somewhat crude, consisting
as a rule merely of a semicircular shelter of branches planted into

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[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 52.

[2] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.

[3] "Grammatik der !Ku-Buschmannsprache," 6.

[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 4-5; Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 52; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 138.

372 by him by means of the *hei-doros*. The new */ou-/ais* now serves to
622 supply the other members of the group. At times it may happen that
all the members of the community may not be living in the *//gaus*
361 (camp), but in some outside werft. This is usually the case only in
221 times of drought when the game has moved far afield and great
672 difficulty is being experienced in obtaining veldkos. Further, people
622 driven out by another group and seeking protection are sometimes
allowed to live some distance away from the *//gaus*. Such communities
are not allowed to make their own fire or to obtain it from any other
source, but the */ou-/ais* of the *gei-khoib* in whose territory they are living.

622 "Persistent ill-health among the members of the community or diffi-
372 culty in obtaining veldkos or want of luck in the chase may cause the
gei-khoib, either of his own accord or after consultation with his people, to proclaim that it is necessary to make a new fire. In such an event all fires, including the */ou-/ais*, are extinguished by being covered over with ashes. The *gei-khoib* at the same time notifies all outside camps of his decision and the latter likewise extinguish their fires. He then kindles a new */ou-/ais* in front of his hut with the *hei-doros* and applies */norab* and *dabas* in the manner described above. The new fire is not made on the same spot as the old fire, but a few feet away from the place on which it has been."

"The custom of kindling and maintaining a perpetual fire,"
114 Fourie goes on to say, "is met with among all the organized primitive
372 groups" of Bushmen in South-West Africa. The only previous
622 information hinting at observances of this kind is found in a curt statement by Kaufmann that among the Auen the "captain" of a village sees to it that the fire does not go out. But he adds that there is no "sacred" fire, and attributes the guarding of the fire against extinction to the practical inconveniences of the method employed in making it.[1] Quite recently, however, Lebzelter has reported the occurrence of similar observances among the Kung, although his remarks on the subject are very scanty. He states merely that the Kung, like the Bergdama, have the sacred fire round which only the men may sit. "When the camp is moved," he concludes, "the head of the group takes with him a brand from this fire"[2]—presumably to use it for

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[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 139; "Der 'Kapitän' (Aichab) der Werft achtet darauf, dass das Feuer nicht ausgeht. Ein 'heiliges' Feuer ist nicht vorhanden. Die Bewahrung des Feuers vor dem Verlöschen geschieht lediglich aus praktischen Gründe, da das Feuerquirlen immerhin ziemlich anstrengend ist."

[2] "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 14: "Wie die Honigkaffern haben auch die !Kuh das Sochafeuer. Es ist dies das heilige Feuer, bei dem nur die Männer sein dürfen. Wenn die Werft übersiedelt, dann nimmt das Werftoberhaupt einen Feuerbrand mit Sochafeuer mit."

lighting a new fire at the next encampment, although this is a practice 372
which, as we have just seen, Fourie explicitly denies for the Heikum. 622

There is no indication at all in the available literature that similar [114]
usages relating to fire are found among the rest of the Bushmen, nor [184]
is there any further evidence of their occurrence among the tribes
mentioned above. On the other hand the sacred fire also plays a 171
very conspicuous part in the social and ritual life of the OvaHerero,
OvaMbo, and Bergdama, all of them close neighbours of the Bushmen 372
tribes among whom it is found, and with the last two of whom the
Heikum at least have intermixed considerably. It is probable therefore
that the special observances relating to fire among the Heikum and the
Kung may represent borrowed elements of culture; but much [177]
fuller information is needed about them before this can be definitely
asserted. Whatever their origin, however, these usages now obviously
play an important part in the social life of the people. In particular,
the fact that at the present time the chief of the band has certain ex- [622]
clusive functions in connection with fire is of outstanding significance
in the whole sphere of public life, and one which cannot be dismissed
merely because it may be due to the effects of contact with other
peoples. To this point we shall have to return when discussing
the political institutions of the Bushmen.

Special Usages relating to Food

There is not much information available about food taboos, but 262
it appears that, in some of the tribes at least, certain foods are forbidden 825
to persons at different stages of life. In the texts obtained by Dr. Bleek
and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen there are preserved the details
of some of the food taboos prevalent among this people. Thus little
children were not allowed to eat the heart of the jackal (on account
of this animal's great timidity), certain portions of the ostrich, or the
tip of the springbok's tail; a menstruating girl might not eat game [841]
killed by the young men, lest she bring them ill luck—she had to
eat only game taken by her father; a certain kind of tortoise was
forbidden to young unmarried men and women, for fear of arousing [821]
the wrath of the rain; women were not allowed to eat the flesh of
the lynx; the tail of the porcupine was forbidden to certain
(unspecified) persons; while all refrained from eating a certain small 262
portion of the flesh of the hare.[1] The published information relating [114]

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[1] L. C. Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 23; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, cf. references in Index, s.v. "Food—not to be eaten."

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262 to these taboos is unfortunately so fragmentary that little can be
[114] gathered of the ideas underlying them. Several of them are
undoubtedly connected with wider ritual observances, e.g. the taboo
[821] imposed on menstruating girls, and again that associated with a
[821] certain belief about the rain; but of the others no full explanation is
[773] available, although the taboo on the portion of the hare may possibly
[761] be linked up with the Bushman myth of the origin of death, in which
the hare plays the part of the fateful messenger who distorts the
[825] promise of immortality sent to mankind by the moon.

Among the Naron, again, "It does not seem," says Miss Bleek,[1]
"as if many taboos in the food line still existed. Paauw meat and ostrich
eggs are chiefly given to old men as the greatest delicacies. Some say
young children, or girls till they have had their first baby, are not to
eat steenbok, lest they remain small, but others tell me that all meat
is eaten by everyone. Honey touched by a baboon must not be eaten,
or you will die." Among the Auen, young girls and boys apparently
may not eat game at all, otherwise they will remain thin; while water
[841] and food collected by a menstruating woman may be partaken of only
by herself and old people—it "makes others weak".[2]

About the Heikum we have far more information on this point,
224 thanks to the excellent description given by Fourie of certain
[114] of their hunting observances.[3] The details he gives throw such a
wealth of new light upon this aspect of Bushman life that they may
be quoted in full. "After an animal has been shot it is followed
by the hunter until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to
the *//gaus* (camp). The following morning the whole community
takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's tracks
had in all probability been effaced during the night by other animals.
224 The searchers spread out on a wide front and keep a very sharp lookout
252 for the presence of vultures. After the carcass has been found it is
[462] skinned by the men. The belly is then opened and the entrails removed
and cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the blood
is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after this has been done,
the liver is roasted and eaten by the men. The skin, if suitable for the
[281] purpose, is cut into sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is
then removed to the *//gaus* by the men who may occasionally be
[462] assisted by the women. On arrival at the *//gaus* all the meat is laid

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[1] *The Naron*, 7.

[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 140, 157.

[3] "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 100–2; cf. *idem*, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 54–6.

224 animal has been shot. The meat which may be eaten by the *axarogu*
262 (youths) is known as */ọm-//gani*, and includes the flesh of the abdominal
wall, kidneys, etc., and the genital organs such as udder, testicles,
224 etc. It is prepared by the *axarogu* themselves over their own fire at
252 the *axarogudi ǂgaos* (young men's hut). The person who shot the
262 animal receives the ribs and shoulder blade of one side. He may prepare
his portion either under the */heis* or over his own fire. The ribs must
be cooked and the shoulder blade roasted because they taste better
when done in this manner. The rest of the meat is *soxa* to him, and
if he eats any other part, e.g. the *ǂkoms*, he will not meet with success
in hunting because the poison will weaken and refuse to act. The parts
of the animal which go to the *gei-khoib* are known as the *so-eis* and
include portions of about two finger-breadths in size from each
quarter, from each side of the back and one rib from each side. These
are strung on a thong or cord and hung up for his sole use. *So-eis*
[574] may, however, be shared by him with a visiting *gei-khoib*. The
gei-khois receives her share from the *ǂnoe-di*. The *gei-khoib* may also
partake of the meat for the remainder of the men called the *so-//gani*,
[264] under which is included the *ǂkoms*. The latter may be eaten only under
the */heis*. After it has been prepared each man brings his wooden bowl
or other receptacle and helps himself. Any man whose wife is
[841] menstruating will, however, not partake of the *ǂkoms* as it contains
blood. The rest of the meat is divided among the men by the *gei-khoib*,
and is prepared and eaten at their huts.

"A similar procedure is adopted in connection with meat killed by
224 the members of an outlying *//gaus*, the *gei-khoib* likewise having to
262 taste it before it may be partaken of. He may either proceed to the
622 *//gaus* concerned, or if the distance to be travelled is considerable,
all the meat will be brought to his *//gaus*. In all such cases the *so-eis*
is brought to him by the messenger sent to notify him of the kill.
[372] When he visits a *//gaus* for this purpose he kindles the */hei-/ais* with
fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns
to his own."

114 Apart from the light it throws upon certain functions of the chief,
224 this account illustrates admirably both the existence of special ritual
[622] observances in regard to game killed in the chase, and the fact that
food obtained in this way is shared among all the people present at
the encampment. This latter feature has also been noted by other
writers on the different Bushman tribes,[1] and it can safely be asserted

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[1] Passarge, op. cit., 55; Kaufmann, op. cit., 155–6 D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, pp. viii–ix; *idem*, *The Naron*, 16.

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that among the Bushmen all game is shared out among the members of 114 the band. To what extent the same elaborate rules of division exist 224 in the other tribes is difficult to determine. The only other indication of similar practices is found in the texts obtained by Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen. Only a selection of these have so far been published, and the information contained in them is rather fragmentary. But it appears that women, for example, were not permitted to eat the meat of the shoulder blades, lest the men [262] subsequently prove unsuccessful in hunting; that the man who shot the animal might not take part in cutting it up; and the bones which were left over had to be carefully put aside in certain special ways.[1] Obviously such usages hint at an elaborate procedure in regard to the cutting up, distribution, and treatment of the meat; and one can only regret that all the details relating to them have not yet been made available.

Narcotics

As narcotics the Bushmen use chiefly tobacco and dagga 276 (*Cannabis sativa*), the latter a herb with marked intoxicating effects. All grown-up people, and even small children, smoke tobacco when they can get it. They do not cultivate it themselves, although a few men among the Auen and the Naron are said to have made [249] slight efforts to grow tobacco and dagga after the manner of their [177] Bantu and Bergdama neighbours.[2] Almost all the tobacco used by the Bushmen is imported through trade or obtained by service with [439] other peoples, and they are always extremely keen to acquire it.

In the north-west their pipes (Plate XI) are generally tubes of [324] serpentine, some 3 inches long and rather wider at one end than at the other, which are cut and hollowed out with the iron spear point or with a knife, or even with a small stone drill. The hollow shin [237] bones of small buck are also sometimes used, but nowadays the most prevalent form of pipe is an empty cartridge-case! Pipes consisting [177] of an antelope horn were largely used by the Cape Bushmen. Near [321] the point of the horn was made a hole, into which was inserted a reed tube, and on top of this was fitted an elongated clay bowl to hold the tobacco. When these pipes were used, some water was put into the horn, the mouth applied to the large orifice of the horn, and the

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[1] Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 271 sqq.

[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 18; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148–9.

276 smoke sucked through the water by deep breaths into the lungs. A somewhat similar form of pipe is found among the Heikum and the Kung, but apparently water is not used here in smoking. Further [171] east, among the Hiechware, a method of ground-smoking is found similar to that obtaining among the neighbouring Bantu peoples. A small hole is made in the ground, into which the man puts the tobacco; he then inserts his pipe-stick through a small tunnel and smokes.[1]

Dagga is mixed with tobacco or smoked by itself whenever obtainable. The habit is said seriously to affect those addicted to it, both physically and morally. When taken in slight quantities the [164] herb has no visible ill-effects, but excessive indulgence is most deleterious to the health, and if persisted in sometimes causes mental aberration and frenzy.

273 Few of the Bushmen know how to make any kind of liquor themselves. The only exception, perhaps, are the Namib Bushmen, who, [171] after the manner of their Hottentot neighbours, brew a kind of mead out of honey. They are very partial to this drink, which plays an essential part in all their festivities.[2] The other Bushmen in general also do not seem to trade for any liquor, although they all appreciate alcohol and native beer when it is given to them. The Hiechware, [439] however, are said to be excessively fond of native beer, which they obtain by barter from the BeChwana; and, according to Dornan, they contrive to get drunk whenever they can.[3] Drunkenness as a rule is very exceptional among the rest of the Bushmen.

SEXUAL LIFE AND MARRIAGE

Conditions and Forms of Marriage

● 114 836 There is very little information about the relations of the sexes before marriage. Either the subject is not mentioned at all by our authorities, or it is curtly dismissed in a short sentence. Kaufmann, for instance, reports of the Auen merely that prenuptial intercourse hardly ever seems to occur[4]; Lebzelter writes of the Kung that chastity is insisted upon before marriage[5]; while, on the other hand, all Miss Bleek has to say in this connection about the Naron is that

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[1] Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 164 sq.; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 323; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 257; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 122–3.

[2] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 168; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 504.

[3] Op. cit., 121.

[4] Op. cit., 156.

[5] Op. cit., (16).

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the women told her "a girl may do as she pleases, but a married woman 114
may not".[1] And again Dornan writes of the Hiechware: "Sexual 836
intercourse by the lovers before marriage, though looked upon as
wrong, is very often indulged in."[2] Vague generalizations such as
these really tell us next to nothing about the nature of sexual life
before marriage; they simply ignore the many important sociological
problems connected with the whole question of courtship and selection,
social attitude towards prenuptial unchastity, legitimacy, and marriage.

Similarly Trenk says that the girls among the Namib Bushmen
are generally virgins when they enter into marriage, because most of [582]
them marry soon after puberty.[3] But that premarital unchastity does
actually occur is shown by his statement in another context that the 848
children born to an unmarried woman are taken over and looked
after by the man she subsequently marries, although as soon as they
grow up they must be returned to their real father.[4] This implies that
physiological paternity is acknowledged by these Bushmen, and that [842]
marriage is not necessary to legalize the status of children. The latter
implication at least is at variance with what is known of other Bushmen,
and needs to be confirmed. Among the Heikum, for example, abortion
is sometimes practised by unmarried women who are pregnant, or, [847]
when "illegitimate" (i.e. prenuptial) births occur, the children are
usually buried alive.[5] Here, therefore, marriage would seem to be an
essential preliminary to the right to procreate and rear children, and [581]
therefore to the foundation of the family.

A family is constituted by a union between one man and one or 595
more women, this union being legalized by marriage. The Cape
Bushmen are now said to be monogamous,[6] but polygynous marriages
also have been recorded by earlier writers.[7] The Namib Bushmen,
according to Trenk, are monogamous; Seydel, on the other hand,
curtly remarks that both polygyny and polyandry occur![8] There is [114]
no other mention of polyandry among any of the Bushmen, and the
statement can hardly be accepted as accurate without full confirmation.
The more northerly tribes all permit polygyny, although the frequency
of such marriages varies. Among the Naron at Sandfontein monogamy

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[1] Op. cit., 32. [2] Op. cit., 128. [3] Op. cit., 169. [4] Ibid., 168.

[5] Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.

[6] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, ix; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 62.

[7] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275; Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, i, 30; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 95.

[8] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 505: "Vielmännerei und Vielweiberei wird beobachtet."

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595 is the rule, but a second wife is not considered wrong; it is thought better for a man in such a case to marry the younger sister of his first wife, then the two will not quarrel.[1] Further east in this tribe three or four wives are not infrequent, and actually a man often marries the sisters and "cousins" of his first wife.[2] The Auen at Rietfontein all have only one wife, "because of the scarcity of food," while those at Gam on the average have two, and sometimes even five wives. The wife first married holds a higher social position than the rest, which may, however, says Kaufmann, be due merely to her greater age.[3] Among the Kung a second wife may be taken, if the first consents; but owing to the difficulty of providing for more than one wife, adds Lebzelter, polygynous marriages are extremely rare.[4] Of the Heikum, again, Fourie tells us that each man as a rule has two wives, who may or may not be related. The second wife is married some time after the first, who is looked upon as the principal wife and exercises a certain amount of authority over her. Each wife has a hut of her own. The husband lives with the principal wife, and visits the second only for purposes of cohabitation.[5] Polygynous marriages are also found among the !O Kung of Angola and among the Hiechware, but are here said to be comparatively rare.[6]

The occurrence of such marriages implies a numerical ●[114] preponderance of women, or else that some of the men must remain bachelors; but unfortunately in no instance are figures given to [162] show the proportion of men and women, or even of monogamous and polygynous marriages, within the band. The motives for polygyny are also not clearly defined. We are told, however, that [622] chiefs among the Naron mostly had two wives,[7] so that here it may be [554] partly associated with rank; while among the Auen, and probably also among the Heikum, the second wife is often not taken until the first is old and past child-bearing. A similar statement is made by Barrow about the Cape Bushmen.[8] In such cases naturally only the older men have more than one wife.

The Cape and the Namib Bushmen, as previously mentioned, are 582 said to forbid marriage only between own brother and sister, parent and child; and so do the !O Kung of Angola. Beyond this no special prohibition or injunction appears to exist. Among the Heikum, on the other hand, the range of forbidden relatives is extended to include all cousins and nieces; while in all the North-Western tribes, including

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[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 34. [2] Passarge, op. cit., 106. [3] Op. cit., 157. [4] Op. cit., 13–14.
[5] Op. cit., 92. [6] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 112; Doman, op. cit., 124.
[7] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 37. [8] Loc. cit.

584 [114] The account given by Fourie of the Heikum marriage ceremonies is fuller than most of the others, and may be quoted for the sake of the details it contains.[1] " A young man eligible for marriage is known as a *!gari-khoib*. When he desires to marry he first speaks about the matter to his best friend (*/hosab*), who then approaches the parents of the prospective bride. The latter will reply: 'We are poor, we cannot afford to give our daughter away.' Thereupon the */hosab* returns to the suitor and tells him to go and speak to the mother himself. The suitor then proceeds to the *//gaus* of the girl's mother, taking his bow and arrows with him. On arrival at her hut he sits down some distance away and says 'I want your daughter'. The mother replies, 'We are too poor to give our daughter away,' to which the suitor responds, 'I have come myself to speak to you. If you die, I will bury you, if your husband dies I will bury him,' thereby implying that he has become one of the family and prepared to share their sorrows and sufferings. The mother then replies, 'You are right, you may
585 take her. I will do as you say and see whether you will carry out your promises,' and taking his bow and arrows, proceeds to her daughter's hut (*!gari-khois oms*) and places them in the hut. Then, without speaking to her daughter, she returns to her own hut. The daughter knows to whom the bow and arrows belong. The suitor goes to the girl's hut towards dusk but does not speak to her. Being still shy and afraid of men, she may run away, but does not go to her mother's hut as she is afraid of being punished. He remains in the *!gari-khois oms*, sleeping in it at night and hunting during the day. If, after two or three days, she does not come back he returns to his *//gaus* and, after obtaining some beadwork from his mother and sister, presents it to his mother-in-law through his sister. He returns to his bride's hut in the meantime. The mother-in-law must accept the present (*//ama-xun*) as the marriage was completed when she took his bow and arrows and placed them in her daughter's hut. Towards midnight the mother takes her daughter to the *!gari-khois oms*, and, if necessary, removes her there by force. The bride and bridegroom do not speak to each other, nor, under normal circumstances, are the presents sent to her mother until they have slept together. After the marriage has been consummated the husband goes out hunting to obtain an animal for the *!gu-/a-/nab*, or the dance after an animal was killed for the purpose of making a wife's leather skirt. The young
591 couple continue to live in the *!gari-khois oms* for some months before

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[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 59–60; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 93.

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837 with the woman who becomes his wife; at the same time it is the duty of a married man to avoid sexual relations with women, whether 684 married or unmarried, other than his wife or wives. Marital infidelity appears to be severely condemned by all the Bushmen. Among the Naron, for example, a man who catches his wife misconducting herself tries to kill her lover and beats her, but he generally does not drive her away if she has children.[1] Marital fidelity among the Auen is said to be fairly well maintained. When adultery does occur, the adulterer is, if possible, killed, while the wife is more or less severely beaten, according to the temper of the husband; she is apparently never killed. Kauffman adds that there nevertheless appears to [548] exist a form of prostitution in which a married woman offers herself to different men for gifts, although if this comes to the notice of the husband he will drive her away. Our author finds it difficult to reconcile this with the blood vengeance exercised in case of adultery, but adds the explanation given him by the people, that "if a woman is intimate with many men, the husband can hardly wage 'war' with them all".[2] Of the Kung Lebzelter says merely that the adulterer is killed, and the guilty wife thrashed.[3] Among the Namib Bushmen, again, an adulterer can either be killed or forced to pay compensation. We are not told, however, the circumstances under which one alternative is exercised rather than the other, nor in what the compensation consists. The wife is sent away, and the adulterer, if unmarried, is then expected to marry her. If she is pregnant the child [848] must be reared by him, and sent back when grown up to the original husband.[4]

114 684 In all these cases, it will be noticed, we have to deal with generalized statements. In no instance is any concrete illustration given of what actually took place in such cases of adultery as may have come under the observation of our authorities. It is not possible, therefore, to decide how much truth really underlies the statements that the adulterer is generally killed. It is evident, however, that the sexual prerogatives conferred by marriage are jealously guarded. Unfortunately almost all the information bearing on this point refers

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[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 34; cf. Passarge, op. cit., 106.

[2] Op. cit., 136, 157.

[3] Op. cit., 14.

[4] Trenk, op. cit., 168. Seydel (op. cit., 105) states that while formerly blood vengeance was invariably exercised in case of adultery, nowadays the reaction has been toned down, and the guilty party ("der schuldige Teil") is merely thrashed very severely ("halbtot") with a stick!

only to the treatment of women and their paramours; nothing is 114 684
said of the wife's remedies when her husband is unfaithful.

Besides this sexual relation between husband and wife, there is 581
also the economic relation. The two share the same hut, and take their [264]
meals in common. It is the duty of the wife to build the hut, to provide [462]
the vegetable food, the firewood and water, and to cook the meals; while it is the duty of the husband to provide game for himself and his wife, to make her clothes and certain of her utensils. The economic 562
burden of the woman has led some writers to depreciate her status, 593
but on the whole it would seem that the women are the companions of their husbands, not their servants, and will often take their own way, in spite of the man's wishes. The position of the wife within the household is, in fact, hardly inferior to that of her husband, who, it is said, is often enough henpecked by her![1]

In addition to establishing this special relationship between husband 591
and wife, marriage leads also to the formation of further special 606
relationships, especially with the parents-in-law. After marriage, as we have seen, the young couple may remain for some time with the wife's parents before finally taking up their residence in the husband's group. Among the Kung and the neighbouring tribes to the east the [583]
husband has during this period of temporary matrilocal residence to hunt for his parents-in-law and to supply them in this way with animal food. If he neglects to do this, says Vedder, his wife may be taken away from him.[2] We thus get a special economic relationship between a man and his wife's parents, based directly upon the fact of his marriage. Probably something similar exists among the other Bushman tribes having temporary matrilocal residence, but no concrete information is available about them in this connection.

Among almost all the Bushmen, moreover, marriage further 606
creates a special form of etiquette between a man and his parents-in-law, and in some cases between a woman and her husband's parents. Thus among the Kung the husband has to avoid his mother-in-law, the wife apparently also her father-in-law. The wife's parents do not enter the hut of the young couple, nor again may the husband enter their hut. The game which he kills for his father-in-law he lays down in front of the latter's hut.[3] Similarly among the Naron a man is not

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[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 157; Chapman, op. cit., i, 291; Lebzelter, op. cit., 14. For an unsympathetic account of the wife's status, cf. Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 122.

[2] Vedder, op. cit., 8; Chapman, op. cit., i, 258.

[3] Vedder, loc. cit.; Chapman, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 63.

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606 supposed to speak to his wife's mother, nor a woman to her husband's father. Of the former Miss Bleek had personal evidence, since her [114] Bushman kitchen boy would not enter a room in which his mother-in-law happened to be. Actually it seems that sitting near or consorting together is avoided, rather than the actual addressing of the person concerned.[1] So, too, among the Auen a man avoids the company of his mother-in-law and does not sit together with her. If he approaches a fire in order to sit there, she gets up and goes away; if he wants to speak to her, he must do so from a distance.[2] Among the Heikum, again, as we have seen, a young couple who are visiting the wife's parents will erect their hut on the opposite side of the camp, so that the husband may not be too near his parents-in-law. He neither looks at nor speaks to his wife's mother, nor will he mention her name or enter her hut even in case of sickness or during her absence. When she is away and he wishes to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never [601] refer to each other by name, but always as "my son-in-law" or "my mother-in-law". The son-in-law also does not associate with his father-in-law, but avoids him in the same way. Should they meet accidentally, they may exchange greetings, but no general conversation will take place, nor will they look each other in the face.[3] A similar avoidance of the parents-in-law among the Cape Bushmen is indicated in one of the texts obtained by Bleek and Lloyd, but no details are given.[4]

Dissolution of Marriage

586 The duration of married life varies. Among the Naron, says Miss Bleek, "One sees couples who have grown old together, on the other hand one hears of cases of desertion on either side. If there are no children, no one worries about it. If there are youngsters, the relations try to bring the parents to reason." Where separation does take place, the children belong to the father; an unweaned child must go with the mother, but the father can claim it later if he likes. [587] People who have separated are not ostracized, but both parties generally marry again.[5] No indication is given of the grounds for separation. Among the Auen divorce is rare, and only takes place

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[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 64; *idem*, *Naron*, 32.
[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 156.
[3] Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 93–4.
[4] Quoted in D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 58.
[5] *Naron*, 34.

when the wife is too old; she may then simply be sent back to her 586 people. Generally, however, she stays with her husband, who then takes a second wife, younger and more active. [595] The children of a divorced woman remain with their father, and are brought up by his new wife.[1] Among the Heikum separation of husband and wife may take place under various circumstances, as when the woman is childless, but this, says Fourie, is entirely a matter for adjustment between them. The wife on separation returns to her own group; the present made to her mother at marriage is not returned to the husband. The children are looked upon as belonging to the father, but if husband and wife should separate the girls, according to Fourie, are taken by the father and the sons by the mother.[2] This statement [114] runs counter to those given above about what happens in the other North-Western tribes under similar circumstances, and is almost certainly inaccurate.

Among the Namib Bushmen divorce may result only from barrenness or adultery, and is at the discretion of the husband. If he decides to separate from his wife, he brings her back to her parents. The mature children remain with him, while the youngsters who have to go with their mother also come to him when grown up. After divorce both parties are at liberty to marry again as soon as they wish.[3]

Marriage is, of course, also dissolved by the death of either husband 587 or wife. As a rule the survivor may remarry. Among the Bushmen of Basutoland, however, a widow is said to have found it difficult [589] to get a second husband, owing perhaps, writes Arbousset,[4] to the [754] popular belief that most of the deaths which occurred were due to [761] witchcraft rather than disease. On the other hand, great attention was paid to her in the camp, where no piece of game was ever eaten without her having a share.

Further north this fear of marriage with a widow is not found. [184] Among the Naron she may, if she likes, marry her late husband's brother, but need not necessarily do so; she is quite at liberty to marry another man. If she remarries, and if young enough most widows do so, her new husband is expected to look after the children; [736] otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. An unmarried widow may stay near her late husband's people, or return to her own group, as she pleases.[5] Widows among the Auen may also marry 587

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[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 157.

[2] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 60.

[3] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 505.

[4] Op. cit. (English trans.), 364.

[5] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 34; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 67.

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184 During her seclusion a row of small parallel cuts, which are all
304 blackened with ashes, is made on her face, or arms, or legs by her
881 father or a male magician. Miss Bleek is convinced that these cuts
are partly for ornament, but adds that there also appears to be a
[776] religious element present, as one woman informant said that *//gãüa*,
a supernatural personage, leads this dance, and that the cuts are made
in his honour.[1] Both the scarifications and the presence of a supernatural being are foreign to the puberty ceremonies for girls in other Bushman tribes; but, as will be seen shortly, both occur (in somewhat different form) in the puberty ceremonies for boys among the North-Western tribes.

184 In all the ceremonies so far described, girls are required to pass
881 through the rites individually as soon as they have their first period.
Among the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari, however, it appears
from the very fragmentary data supplied by Dornan that girls are
initiated in groups. The central feature of the ceremony, as described
[304] by him, is an operation performed on each of the girls, which consists
in the "perforation of the clitoris" (*sic*) with a stone knife, the
operators being the older women.[2] If this information be correct,
[177] we have here a ceremony in every way distinct from those of the
other Bushmen, and one which can only be regarded as having been
borrowed from the neighbouring BeChwana, whose puberty
ceremonies for girls are of a somewhat similar nature.

Boys' Puberty Ceremonies

881 Boys are subjected to the ceremony of initiation after reaching
the age of puberty, and as soon as they are considered to have become
proficient in hunting, especially in the pursuit of big game. Among
the North-Western tribes this ceremony is carried out in a secluded
spot in the bush, near which no woman may come.[3] Here all the
eligible big boys from several neighbouring encampments are taken
[756] by the old men, with a couple of magicians in charge; and here they
remain for about a month, living together in a big hut or enclosure.
During the first few days they are roughly handled and half-starved;

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[1] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 51; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 122.
[2] Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 159.
[3] Passarge, op. cit., 100–1; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 23–5; *idem*,
● [114] "Buschmänner von Angola," 122; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 51; Fourie, op. cit., 91–2. Passarge states that the ceremony takes place during the dry season, i.e. at the coldest time of the year; Fourie, on the other hand, that it is always held during the rainy season, when food is plentiful. The other writers do not mention the time of year.

304 The only other Bushman people among whom the occurrence of
881 initiation rites for boys is definitely recorded are the Hiechware of
the Eastern Kalahari. Here the main element seems to be circumcision.
" The boys," according to Dornan,[1] " are operated on at the age of
twelve years, all those of the same age being taken together once a
year, as with them puberty comes on at an early age . . . (Then follows
a description of the operation: the foreskin of the boy is seized by the
operator, who pulls it forward over the gland as far as it will stretch,
and then cuts it off close with one slash of a stone knife.) . . . They
881 are treated with considerable care for two or three weeks afterwards,
and are fed upon meat . . . They are instructed in the traditional
lore of the people, the religious observances and into the mysteries
of generation. They are carefully informed that intercourse of
[834] uncircumcized people is that of the beasts of the field, that in short
it is fornication, as well as a good deal that will not bear to be put
into print."

114 Although, as already mentioned, Dornan regards circumcision
as an original Bushman custom, there can be little doubt that the
304 Hiechware have taken it over from the BeChwana among whom they
177 live. They are the only Bushman people among whom this practice is
184 asserted to occur, while its absence from other Bushman tribes is
explicitly affirmed by all writers. Consequently the puberty rites in the form described by Dornan must be regarded as introduced elements of culture. It is conceivable that the boys' puberty rites among the North-Western tribes should also be attributed to Bantu influence, since nothing similar to them appears to exist in the south. But in several of their details, especially in the introduction of the tribal deities and in the form of mutilation these rites differ considerably from the corresponding rites of the neighbouring South-Western and South-Central Bantu, while on the other hand they are intimately connected with both the economic activities and the religious beliefs of the Bushmen. It is difficult therefore to imagine their having been borrowed, unless it is conceded that they have undergone considerable modification in the process of adaptation. But whether borrowed or not—and the possibility of borrowing, although difficult to establish, is not entirely eliminated—these rites clearly separate the North-Western tribes from their Southern relatives in at least one important feature of culture.

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[1] Op. cit., 158–60.

278 transported. When wanted for use, the insect inside is rubbed to powder on a half tortoise-shell, then mixed with the juice obtained either from the spiked cucumber (*Citrullus caffer*) or from the 'hakdoorn' (*Zisyphus mucronata*). They heat the cucumber root in the ashes, knock it on the ground, then wring out the liquid it contains. The bark of the 'hakdoorn' is chewed, and the juice spat into the dish of poison. This juice is clear, bitter, and sticky and adheres to the arrow point, on to which it is dabbed with a flattened stick after being mixed with the poison. The poisonous matter becomes very hard and dry and is apt to fly off into the eyes if the arrow is carelessly handled. Bushmen always warn one of this and say the eyes become much inflamed if even a tiny grain of dried poison gets into them." Any mixture left over is wound round a stick and carried with the arrows in the long bag; presumably it must be heated again if it is to be put on to further arrow-heads.[1]

114 278 There does not appear to be any sort of ceremonial attaching to the process of preparing the poison, nor is the work of doing so the function of any particular person. There are, indeed, one or two hints at something of this kind, but nothing which can be regarded as fully reliable.[2] All our principal authorities state that in general any man who needs poison prepares it for himself when he wants it.[3]

224 278 None of the Bushman poisons is instantaneous in its effect, although as a rule the smaller the animal the quicker the action. Generally the wounded animal runs on as if unhurt, and the hunter follows on its spoor until he finds the dead body; sometimes this is within half an hour, sometimes many hours elapse before the poison proves effective, and often enough it is not till the next day that he can obtain his meat. That the poison is fatal once it gets to the blood, cannot be doubted. Once the arrow pierces the skin of the animal the Bushman has no fear that it may escape him; it may travel perhaps forty or more miles after being wounded, but its progress becomes slower and weaker, until finally it falls down dead.

411 [412] In addition to bows and arrows, the Northern tribes also make use in hunting of throwing-sticks ("knob kirris") and spears. The former is a round-headed stick of hard wood, usually *Acacia*, about two feet in length, and pointed at the lower end to serve also as a digging-stick. It is used for knocking down birds and small mammals,

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[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 14.

[2] These statements are summarized by Schapera, op. cit., 206.

[3] In addition to the references given by Schapera, loc. cit.; cf. Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 147; Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 54.

and in minor quarrels it is the weapon of offence or defence. The 411
spears have long wooden shafts and an iron head about six inches
long. The latter is obtained by barter from the neighbouring Bantu, [439]
but the spear itself is made by the Bushmen. For the shaft they pierce
the end of a stick, then heat the tang of the iron head in the fire and
insert it, binding the joint tightly with sinew.[1] Relatively few of the
men possess these spears, and as they do not appear ever to have been [177]
used by the Southern Bushmen they can safely be regarded as weapons
borrowed from the Bantu.

Methods of Hunting

The Bushmen, as already indicated, have a variety of devices for 224
catching game, the particular method employed being determined by the nature of the intended prey and the season of the year.[2] In some cases the animals are run down on foot. In this manner, for instance, small buck such as the duiker and steenbok, and even big game such as the gemsbok, are hunted during the "big rainy season" (late summer), when the ground, sodden with moisture, impedes the progress of the animals and causes them to fall an easy prey to the hunter, who on overtaking his quarry kills it with the kirri or the spear. This method cannot be employed for small game during the dry season owing to the difficulty in following the spoor, but in the hot part of the dry season young buck are easily caught in this way, as the hot sand causes the hoofs to come off. Many varieties of big game, such as the wildebeest and zebra, are also run down in the hot dry season. After a herd of game has been located, one or more men give chase at a steady trot. The animal is pursued relentlessly, never once being allowed to rest, until it is exhausted and brought to bay, when the hunter comes up and kills it with the spear.

Burrowing animals, such as the spring hare (jerboa) and anteater, are caught in their holes by means of a long barbed stick. This is poked down the hole into the animal's flesh, either to drag it out or to transfix it while another man digs down to it. Snakes are sometimes caught in the same manner. The man who pulls out the snake runs fast, dragging it after him, while others throw kirris and spears at it; this cannot be done in grass or the snake may escape. Steenbok,

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[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 14; Kaufmann, op. cit., 143-4, 152; Gretschel, op. cit., 102-3.

[2] The fullest descriptions of the hunting life and methods of the Bushmen are given by [114]
Stow, op. cit., 80-94; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 167; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 667-8; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 45 sqq. (an exceptionally detailed and graphic account); Kaufmann, op. cit., 144-7; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 94 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 15-16; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 99 sqq.

of boys at the puberty ceremonies are also said to have the function 224
of making them "see better" in hunting.[1] Seydel briefly mentions 304
the existence of similar practices among the Namib Bushmen. Cuts are made on the forehead or upper arm of a man in order that he may have better fortune in hunting. These cuts are made by a near relative of his, such as father, brother, or wife, and are given only to adults.[2]

There is no record of such scarifications among the Cape Bushmen, [184]
although here also a well-developed ritual existed in connection with hunting life. Unfortunately, only fragments of this have been 224
recorded. They show that there were certain special precautions [114]
to be observed before going out on the hunt, and especially during that critical period when the game has been wounded but not yet taken. Thus, when an animal has been wounded, the flesh of the swift springbok may not be eaten by the hunter, as this would give strength to the movements of the wounded buck; he should rather eat the flesh of a slow-moving animal, especially of such as would strengthen the action of the poison. The moon must not be looked upon when following the spoor, lest the animal run too far—a belief also held by the Naron. The hunter's shadow, again, must not be allowed to fall upon game which lies dying; certain (unspecified) rules have to be observed when an eland has been shot; the bones of the dead animal must be treated in a certain way; Bushman girls perform special ceremonies, in order that their father's dogs may hunt well, while certain cuts must be made upon the bow when a baboon or hyena has been killed. Unfortunate shots are believed to be due to such causes as the children at home playing on a man's bed, and are also ascribed to the remissness of wives, while there even appears to be a belief that unsuccessful hunting may forebode evil to the hunter. Also it is held that after the death of a companion the hunters will be unlucky in springbok hunting, and certain (unspecified) remedial measures are resorted to.[3]

Beliefs of a somewhat similar nature are found among the Heikum. As we have already seen, the meat of an animal killed with the bow and arrow is subject to minutely-prescribed rules of division and preparation. Moreover, a man who shoots an eland or giraffe must, on

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[1] Chapman, op. cit., i, 56, 76, 81, 159; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 246; Passarge, op. cit., 108–9; Vedder, op. cit., 9; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 50, 51; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 114–15; *idem*, *Naron*, 11.

[2] "Aus der Namib," 505.

[3] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 19; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15–16, 19, 23; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 66 sqq., 270 sqq.

finds expression in the numerous observances and beliefs developed 182
in relation to the sources of water, and especially to the rain. Here, 312
however, we may note how the Bushmen cope in practice with this 823
ever-present problem.

Caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water are often buried 312
in the ground or hidden in a tree for future use, and to steal them is
one of the greatest offences in Bushmen life. When even these have [685]
given out, a substitute is found in various succulent plants, especially [824]
the *!naras* and the *tsama*, which contain enough moisture to relieve
thirst and which are still available for the first part of the dry season. [271]
In some parts of the Kalahari water may still be found below the surface at this time, and to obtain it the people make use of an ingenious filter. A hole is dug in the sand where the green colour of the grass indicates the presence of the subterranean water, and with a reed tube to the lower end of which is attached a bundle of grass they painfully suck out drop by drop the water that has collected below, then carefully transfer it to the egg-shell bottles. But when even this resource
fails them, they are compelled to make hurried marches back to the [221]
permanent waterholes, to which they cling until the coming of the rainy season again enables them to move out into the sand veld and resume their normal hunting life.[1]

INDUSTRIES AND TRADE

Industries

Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the 511
Bushmen have need of little but their weapons and utensils. Their household possessions are few, for they seldom own more than they can conveniently carry about with them, and all their industries are essentially domestic.[2]

From wood they make their huts, the staves of their bows and 322
spears, quivers for their arrows, digging-, throwing-, and firesticks, [342]
the long barbed stick used for catching spring hares and other [411]
burrowing animals, the poison sticks on which the arrow poison is
gathered in lumps after it has been prepared, the spits (sometimes [412]

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[1] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 51; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 297; Passarge, *Buschmänner*, 51, 70–1, and fig.; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 671–3; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 293–4.

[2] The most comprehensive account of Bushman industries is to be found in Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 89–113, pl. xxiii–xxix, which relates chiefly to the Auen; cf. also van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements"; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 62–80; Passarge, op. cit., 81–94; Gentz, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 297–301; Kaufmann, op. cit., 152–3; Schultze, op. cit., 658 sqq.; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 257; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 8–18 *passim*; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 103. [114]

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made by themselves, and metal pots, spear heads, knives, trade beads, 438
etc., which they obtain through the Heikum from the OvaKwangari 439
and MaMbukushu further north. The Naron to the east trade their
skins, and formerly also ivory and ostrich feathers, with the BaTawana
to the north-east for tobacco and millet. Ostrich egg-shell beads are
bartered to the Bantu by all the Bushman tribes. The Koon at
Naosanabis in the south, a branch of the /nu//en, are known to make
them especially well, and their beads are always in great demand,
passing through the Naron and the Auen to the Bantu tribes further
north and east, who pay highly for them. For a chain of these beads
passing round the waist the MaMbukushu, for example, give a large
basket of millet, the BaTawana a large roll of tobacco, the OvaMbo
an iron spear head, and so on. The Naron also trade their skins to
Europeans and BeChwana for tobacco, dagga, or trade goods, and the
latter, again, they pass on to the Auen.

The extensive scale on which this trade is carried out would seem
to imply the existence of regulated trading communications between
the different tribes. Unfortunately, there is extremely little information
bearing on this point. Markets are apparently not held, the transfer [443]
of goods, as far as can be determined, being effected almost entirely
through special trading visits from one group to another. Kaufmann 437
describes the way in which such trading visits are conducted among
the Auen. A small number of men and women go to the camp of the
band with whom they wish to trade, laying down their weapons
beforehand. Permission to enter is then given, and the barter proceeds.
He adds that even if two bands are at enmity, as often happens, [114]
women will, nevertheless, go from one to the other in order to trade.
This statement, however, needs to be confirmed. Passarge also
suggests that the Bantu tribes of this region probably send periodical
trading caravans to the different Bushman tribes, and quotes as an
illustration the fact that in former times at least the OvaMbo would,
with the permission of the Bushmen, go on special trading visits to
obtain copper in the Otavi district of South-West Africa.

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

The economic life of the band, although in effect it approaches a 421
sort of communism, is really based on the notion of private property.[1]
The only thing owned in common is the land, and even here, as we 423

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[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 155–6; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 504; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36, 16; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuṅ-Buschleuten," 13, 16.

among the Namib Bushmen the victim may take back not only the 627
stolen property, but also all the thief's possessions. That blood 685
vengeance is actually exercised in case of theft appears from the
following incident recorded by Miss Bleek. An Auen man had a good 628
deal of tobacco, most of which he hid in a tree. Returning later he 685
found the tobacco gone, and human footprints round the tree. He
followed the spoor to one of a cluster of huts, where he saw a Bushman
sitting at the fire cutting the stolen tobacco. Although he had only
a spear with him, he darted up and stabbed the thief to death. The
man's wife, intervening, was also stabbed. Then the assailant tried
to escape, but was shot in the side by a poisoned arrow from the group
round the next fire. He succeeded in reaching his home, but died of
the poison a few days later. Similarly, in the waterless regions of the
Namib Desert, men on the hunt often store up supplies of water in
ostrich egg-shells and also of meat. Another person coming upon this
supply may take from it, but must follow the spoor of the owner, tell
him about it, and recompense him. If this is not done the owner, when
he discovers the loss, will follow the spoor of the thief until he finds
him and will then kill him if he can.

Here, according to Trenk, homicide in case of theft and adultery 114
is apparently not regarded as murder, but as punishment, and the 628
relatives of the deceased may not take blood vengeance. But, as
shown in the instance quoted from Miss Bleek, among other Bushmen 682
homicide, whether deliberate or accidental, leads inevitably to blood [184]
vengeance, the relatives of the dead man combining to kill the
murderer. This appears also from another instance recorded by 627
Knudsen.[1] A Bushman, not far from Bethanie in South-West Africa, 682
shot another in the leg with an arrow during a honey beer drinking-bout. The wounded man revenged himself on the spot by shooting
his assailant in the heart and killing him. The dead man's brother
pursued the killer, who fled, but could not overtake him, and so
returned to the camp, where he met the man's wife carrying a child.
He tore it from her, threw it up in the air and caught it on the point
of his spear. The mother saved herself by fleeing, but two other women

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still living, she may be handed over to them and they all have to leave the camp. Should the father be dead and the mother alive, the thief is still taken and given back to the latter, after the stolen property has been recovered. But, if she is an old offender, the mother is said to give her, through a son, to another person, to be burned to death. These facts, obtained from a single young informant, need, however, to be confirmed. The deliberate burning to death of people, for whatever reason, is not reported of any of the other Bushmen.

[1] Quoted in Moritz, "Die ältesten Reiseberichte über Deutsch-Südwestafrika," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxix (1916), 154.

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judge, the head of the band, but in cases of murder, bodily injury 622
resulting in death, and treason the latter is assisted by another man. 692
The judges can invite or summon witnesses, and after coming to a [695]
decision announce it in the presence of all the members of the band.
Murder is punished by death, the sentence being executed by the 681
relatives of the dead man, who kill his slayer with the kirri or by stoning him; treason is also punished by death, and so, in former times, was adultery, although nowadays the adulterer is merely beaten very severely. Theft, the concealment of stolen property, assaults leading to bodily injury, and offences against morality are punished by thrashing. Attempted crimes as well as aiding and abetting receive the same punishment as the accomplished deed, but self-defence is in no way penalized.

How far this description can be accepted as entirely accurate is 114
difficult to say, since Trenk in discussing the legal usages of these 692
Bushmen makes no mention of such a form of procedure. There is 681
no reason, however, to dismiss it as improbable, since the Nama [171]
Hottentots, under whose influence the Namib Bushmen have come to a very large extent, have a more elaborate legal system along the same lines, and the Bushman procedure may well have been imitated from this. There is nothing, as far as our present information goes, [184]
to suggest the existence of such an organized procedure in any of the other Bushman tribes.

RELATIONS WITH OTHER BANDS

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Each band, as has been shown, has its own particular hunting 621
territory, and in general the members of the band keep within their own bounds. But people of neighbouring bands do occasionally have relations with one another. Intermarriage, for example, is a rule among the North-Western tribes, where also a newly-married [591]
man generally remains for some time with his wife's people before returning with her to his own band. Visits are apparently also [574]
frequent between families connected by marriage, and in any case, as we have seen, a woman always goes back to her parents' home for her first confinement. Trading visits, again, are often undertaken from [438]
one band to another, while under special circumstances we may also find the members of several different bands assembled together for a while. It has already been mentioned, for instance, how an outbreak of rinderpest resulting in the death of many cattle drew together

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619 Bushmen from all parts of the Ghansiveld, even from different tribes,
621 owing to the abundance of animal food thus provided. And again
[221] Passarge states that in the Central Kalahari there are also common
[423] hunting grounds in which during the rainy season members not only
of different bands but also of several different tribes may be found
hunting together peacefully, although at other times of the year each
band carefully avoids going beyond its own area.

● 114 All this suggests that there must be some sort of machinery,
however imperfect or ill-organized, to regulate social contacts between
619 different bands. Unfortunately the information bearing upon this most
621 important point is so inadequate that it is extremely difficult to determine to what extent the bands are socially interrelated. There are
indeed one or two hints of common meetings at special times for
ceremonial purposes. Thus Kaufmann, in describing the boys'
[881] puberty ceremonies among the Auen, states that the initiates are drawn
together from several neighbouring villages,[1] while Lebzelter, in his
[574] preliminary account of the Kung, makes the tantalizingly brief statement
that in the months of March and April different bands come together
for great feasts.[2] Occasionally, again, a weaker band may seek and
726 obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour. Thus the men of several
619 Auen bands united with some Naron to attack another Auen band,
621 although once the fight was over the alliance was dissolved.[3] Such
alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature, nor does it appear that the different bands of the same tribe are commonly organized together for political purposes. But the occurrence of such interrelations as have just been noted definitely indicates that there must be some form of regulated intercourse between neighbouring bands. Without further research in the field, however, no additional light can be thrown upon the nature and mechanisms of this intercourse.

578 On the other hand, the relations between neighbouring bands are
619 not always friendly. Homicide, trespass, theft, adultery and wife-
621 stealing give rise to quarrels and conflicts which generally assume the
628 form of a blood feud and may even lead to war.[4] Trespass especially
[685] is a frequent cause of dispute, as all the Bushmen readily attack those who
648 encroach on their land. This applies not only to other Bushmen,
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[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 157.

[2] Lebzelter, "Bei den 'Kun-Buschleuten," 13.

[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 154.

[4] Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 154; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169, 170; Zastrow, "Ueber die Buschleute," 1; Sei[illegible]r, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 40; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," [illegible].

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The

campaign is brought to an end among the Auen by agreement, 628
unarmed negotiators passing freely between the two groups, and an 727
indemnity is paid to the victors in the form of women, material 728
objects, and food. There is no information relating to peace-making
in other tribes, and even Kaufmann's statement about the Auen lacks [114]
corroboration.

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766 others are usually abandoned before they die, and the whole camp wanders in the bush.[1]

There is also the well-authenticated fact that old people are some-
888 times deliberately abandoned. When drought and scarcity force the Bushmen to a long hurried march, some old man or woman may be too feeble to keep up with them. They then make a screen of bushes all round the old person, provide a good supply of firewood and a little food and water if possible, and push on, leaving him behind. Should game and water be found within a couple of days' march, some young fellow is sent hurrying back with supplies. Otherwise they do not come near the place again, knowing that the end must have come and hyenas dealt with the remains. This abandonment of the aged has often been characterized as an inhuman trait in the Bushmen; but when the life of the whole band depends upon rapid movement it is difficult to see how they could act other-
[766] wise. Anyone who falls out and dies on such a march will have to
[727] go unburied too, and probably the same fate overtakes those killed in war.[2]

● 114 Where burial does take place it follows almost immediately after the death. The descriptions available of the actual funeral ceremonies
764 of the Bushmen are far from being exhaustive, and naturally vary somewhat in detail, but a certain degree of uniformity may be noted. The information relating to the Southern tribes is fragmentary. Skeletons of these Bushmen are found buried both in caves and in graves out in the open, but of the customs associated with burial we have very little record. The fullest description is that given
764 by Arbousset of the Basutoland Bushmen. He states that a dead person first has his head anointed with red powder (*buchu*), mixed with melted fat. The corpse is then rudely perfumed (*grossièrement parfumée*), and laid on its side in an oblong grave, to which all the relatives and friends hasten to make their lamentations. They come even from the neighbouring villages to see and examine the body, which is then taken out of the grave; and everybody redoubles his cries and lamentations. At last they throw into the grave the hut of the dead person, and burn it above him. The grave is then filled in with earth to the level of the ground, but no heap of stones is
[768] piled above it. The funeral over, the band leaves the place for a

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[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 158.

[2] Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 122; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 110–11; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 35; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 95; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuŋ-Buschleuten," 14.

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year or two, during which the dead person is never spoken of but 768
with veneration and tears.[1]

Several details in this account—the anointing, perfuming, and 114
examination of the body, as well as the burning of the hut—are not 764
met with in the descriptions of other independent observers, who as
a rule remark merely that the corpse is buried with all its possessions
and the place then deserted.[2] On the other hand, it is certain that
many of the Southern Bushmen heaped stones on the graves of their
dead. This custom may have originated merely from the desire
to protect the body from the ravages of hyenas and other wild animals.
It has, however, sometimes been given a religious significance owing [769]
to the fact, recorded by several of the older observers, that passing
natives would always add a branch or a stone to the heap. It is 114
unfortunately not always possible to gather whether the natives 764
referred to were Bushmen or Hottentots. The latter certainly have 769
various practices and beliefs connected with these grave heaps, of 171
which the usage just mentioned is one of the most common, but
there is no fully reliable evidence of anything similar being observed
by the Southern Bushmen.

In excavated graves the corpse is sometimes found lying on its 764
left side, with one or two large flat stones placed directly upon it.
The interest attaching to these "burial stones" lies in the fact that [532]
in a few cases, in association with cave burials along the south coast,
they have been found with figures of human beings painted upon
them in the typical Bushman style. It would be unprofitable to
speculate upon the significance of such stones, as there is no record of
any Bushmen having explained them to our authorities; but that
they were related to some definite belief can hardly be doubted.[3]

The Namib Bushmen, according to Seydel, as a rule bury a dead
person on the morning following his death, and in any case not [763]
before the death has been confirmed by the nearest neighbours.
The relatives of the dead man and the neighbours accompany the
corpse to the grave, uttering or singing a funeral dirge. The grave

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[1] *Voyage d'Exploration au . . . Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, 503–4.

[2] Campbell, *Missionary Travels in S. Africa*, 440; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 289; Fritsch, *Drei Jahre in Südafrika*, 242. The account given by Hahn (op. cit., 121) is obviously derived from Arbousset; that in Stow (op. cit., 126–9) from Arbousset, Campbell and Sparrman. The English translation of Arbousset (p. 365) renders "grossièrement parfumée" as "coarsely embalmed", which, as it is repeated in Stow, may have given rise to some misconception. There is nothing in the nature of real embalming among the Bushmen.

[3] Fritsch, loc. cit.; Haughton, in *Trans. R. Soc. S. Afr.*, xiii, 105–6; FitzSimons, *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx, 501, 541.

764 often done, as they dislike touching or interfering in any way
with a corpse, owing to the fear of bad luck." After the funeral
765 they usually indulge in a funeral feast, then desert the locality, and
[768] never mention the dead person's name afterwards. "That they are
much affected by death is certain, for they often weep at such times,
especially if the deceased be a person of some importance, and bitterly
lament his departure from amongst them." Signs of mourning are
infrequent. Sometimes they paint their faces with white and black
stripes as a sign that they have had a death in their encampment;
and Dornan adds that he has heard of their painting the whole body
with red and white stripes, but has never himself seen any thus
decorated.[1]

BELIEFS CONCERNING THE DEAD

All the accounts given above are admittedly inadequate. They
114 agree, however, in stating that the dead person is buried in a contracted
764 position with all his possessions, and in implying the absence
768 of any elaborate and prolonged funeral ceremony and rites of
mourning. No attempt appears to have been made to ascertain
what explanation the Bushmen themselves have to offer for burying
the dead person with all his possessions, except only in the case
of the Kung, of whom we are told by Lebzelter that their reason
for placing these objects in the grave is not that the dead person
may be able to use them in the future world, but because people
do not want to make any further use of objects belonging to a person
whom they loved while he was alive.[2]

All the descriptions of the funeral ceremonies of the Bushmen
[769] point also to a vague fear of the dead person, expressed most forcibly
in the fact that after the funeral the place is abandoned and perhaps
never revisited. What belief underlies this fear, and what the Bushmen
775 hold to be the fate of the dead, are not always easy to determine.
Stow mentions the belief, reported to him of some Southern Bushmen,
that at some undefined spot on the banks of the Orange River there
[304] is a place called *'too'ga*, to which after death they will all go; and
that to ensure a safe journey there they all cut off the joint of the
little finger of one hand. "This they consider is a guarantee that
they will be able to arrive there without difficulty, and that upon
their arrival they will be feasted with locusts and honey, while those
who have neglected this rite will have to travel there upon their

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[1] Dornan, op. cit., 144–6.

[2] Op. cit., 14.

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heads, beset the entire distance with all kinds of imaginary obstacles 775 and difficulties; and even after all their labour on arriving at the desired destination they will have nothing but flies to live upon." This belief that after a time the dead arise and go to a land where there is an abundance of good food is likewise recorded by Campbell [114] and by Miss Currle, neither of whom, however, is a specially trustworthy authority. The Bushman informants of Dr. Bleek also spoke of "the place to which the Bushmen go after death", but unfortunately the details given by them have not yet been published. We are unable, therefore, to tell if their ideas of a future life were in any way similar to those reported by Stow and the other writers.[1]

On the other hand, these Bushman informants also had a variety 821 of interesting beliefs linking up death with the phenomena of Nature. 761 The stars, they said, know the time when a Bushman dies, and the 775 fall of one announces, to those who are not aware of it, that something bad has happened. When, after this, a "hammerkop" (*Scopus umbretta*, the "lightning bird" of other South African tribes) flies, [825] calling out, over the camp, the people know that someone belonging to them has died. When rain is accompanied by lightning, girls who are out in the open become killed by the lightning and are converted into stars, while those who are taken away by the rain become beautiful water-flowers, which will not allow themselves to be plucked [824] and disappear when approached. Such flowers must be let alone. Hence the rule that young unmarried women and girls must hide themselves from the rain. The Moon, again, is hollow (in its first quarter) because it is carrying people who are dead. The human heart is believed to fall down after death in the form of a shooting star; the hair of a dead person is changed into clouds, while his gall appears again as a green colour in the sky, and so forth. Dead 775 people may also come in their own forms as apparitions to their relatives and friends, even in waking life. There seems, however, to be no evil portent in this; nor, indeed, does there seem to be any noticeable fear of dead persons on the whole, although we are told that the names of those who are dead must not be uttered by children at night.[2]

The Namib Bushmen, on the other hand, seem to fear dead people greatly, and, as we have seen, the thickened *dawes* sap placed in the [764]

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[1] Stow, op. cit., 129; Campbell, *Second Journey in S. Africa*, i, 29; Currle, "Bushmen of Namaqualand," 117; Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 19.

[2] Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 21, 25; Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 365–71, 389–401.

775 hands of the corpse at burial is meant to conciliate his soul. Trenk
[764] says they believe only in an "evil spirit", which they fear, but he
[776] throws no light upon the nature of this spirit. He adds, however,
that, according to them, the souls of the dead fly about in the air
and also speak to people, yet remain unseen, except by children,
to whom they often show themselves in ghostlike animal forms
of oxen, horses, or gemsbok.[1]

Of the tribes further north our information is somewhat more
761 precise. Kaufmann, as we have seen, maintains that the Auen
distinguish between those who die "good deaths" and those who
die "bad deaths", and he adds that the latter are feared also after
death. This distinction was not found by Miss Bleek among the
Naron at Sandfontein, but is also reported by Fourie of the partly-disorganized
Auen and Naron groups of the same district. He says
764 they believe in a "good being" named *!khutse* and a "bad being"
775 named *Gaua*. People who die a "good death" are said to go to
[776] *!khutse*, those dying a "bad death" to *Gaua*. The former have a
good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often
[761] suffer hunger and distress. A deceased person is believed to move
about in the form of a ghost at night. "*Buchu* is accordingly
sprinkled over the grave to make the spirit of the departed happy,
so that it may not return at night to molest others; further, water
is poured over or left at the grave in order that the spirit may not
interfere with the rain, and the bow, quiver, and arrows of the
deceased placed at the graveside to obviate the necessity of his ghost
returning to look for them." These usages are no doubt part of
[114] the funeral ceremony, but the context in which they are described
does not make this clear.[2]

775 The word *Gaua*, or, more correctly, *//gãũa* or *//gãuwa*, which
[192] Fourie interprets as a "bad being" or "Satan", is, according to
[776] Miss Bleek, also used by the Auen and Naron in the sense of a "person
[114] who has died". Her male informants said that all people who die
[791] become *//gãuwa*, and the magicians can see them. The women,
however, affirmed that only men who have been cut between the
eyebrows (at the puberty ceremonies) become *//gãuwa*, and only such
men can see them, though women sometimes hear them. "They
evidently mean ghosts," comments Miss Bleek, "and have much
the same vague fear of them as European peasants have. The ghosts

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[1] "Buschleute der Namib," 168.

[2] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

walk at night and people are afraid of them, but they do not expect real harm from them. If seen, the apparitions resemble people."[1] 775

The same word was given three meanings by some Kung youths from near Lake Ngami—"dream, ghost, spirit." It is met with again among the !O Kung of Angola, by whom it is sometimes used for "ghost", sometimes more impersonally. Miss Bleek was told by one of her female informants that when a person dies there rises from the grave the ghost, *//gãũa*, which can be seen by magicians. This woman claimed to be a magician, and said that she and her co-workers could conjure up *//gãũa* by dancing and singing. In what form he appeared and whether she looked on the apparition as the spirit of the departed, or as some other spirit, she did not say. Another woman's death was described as follows: "She died, became a ghost, people saw the ghost, it went away and stayed in the bush."[2] [192] [789]

A good deal of new information on this subject is contained in the reports recently published by Lebzelter on his researches among the Kung and the Heikum.[3] The Eastern Kung, he says, believe that the vital principle ("Lebensprinzip") of a man is his soul, *xa*, which is immortal. When a man dies, this soul is fetched by the spirits, *//Gauab*, whose hearth fires are the stars, and is taken by them to the sky hut ("Himmelshaus") of the "great captain" *Xu*. This hut has two storeys, in the upper of which dwell the souls of all people, including even those of the whites. They do nothing there and also eat nothing. The body is buried, but after a few days the flesh becomes "alive" and then disappears: out of it has arisen the *//gauab* of the dead person, in the form of a smaller image or "shade" which issues from the grave, hunts, eats, and drinks just as in life, and when tired goes to sleep in its house, the grave. These shades cannot enter into or transform themselves into stones, plants, or animals; apparently they retain the human form only. The Kung of the Oschimpoloveld, again, believe that every man has a soul, */gau-ba*, which after death comes into the "house of God" (*Erob*) in the sky. Dead people are therefore now the people who are with "God", and after a while "God" again makes living beings out of them. [114] ● [776]

Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan the soul, *darish*, goes up into the sky to */Gamab*, a "demiurge", who places the heart in cold water and eats it [776]

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[1] *The Naron*, 26.

[2] "Buschmänner von Angola," 54; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123, 124.

[3] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //Khun," 409-12 *passim*; *idem*, "Bei den 'Kun-Buschleuten," 14.

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spirit remains active about the place, and they do not want to offend it."[1] 775 769

The conflicting accounts of Dornan's informants as to the fate of the dead can be harmonized if we assume, in the light of Lebzelter's statements about the Kung and the Heikum, that these Eastern Kalahari Bushmen also distinguish between the soul and the ghost; but since there is nothing in Dornan's remarks to indicate definitely the existence of such a distinction, the assumption here made must be regarded as purely speculative. It will be noticed, further, that he describes here the practice of throwing a small stone on the grave in order to appease the spirit of the dead person. This practice, as we have already noted, has sometimes been said to exist among the Southern Bushmen also. Unfortunately it is not always possible to determine how far Dornan has recorded what are actually his own observations, for much in his book has obviously been inspired by the accounts of earlier writers on the Bushmen generally. What he has to say here must therefore also be received with caution, and cannot without further inquiry be accepted as an independent confirmation. 114 ● 775 769 [184]

It appears on the whole that, among all the Bushmen, people are believed to continue their existence after death, sometimes in their own form, sometimes in another form, and may even manifest themselves to the living. There is also a vague, ill-defined fear of the dead person's haunting the living, but it would seem that as a rule no great harm is expected from this, although, as we shall see later, most of the North-Western tribes attribute sickness to the spirits of the dead. Another fact that emerges very prominently is the apparent absence of any organized cult of the dead as such—there seems to be nothing in the way of ancestor-worship, nor of any other form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated. The only concrete mention there is of dead people being prayed to refers to the Cape Bushmen. One of Miss Lloyd's informants stated that his father asked a certain dead magician for rain, which speedily followed; while another mentioned a prayer addressed by his mother to a dead magician who had power over game, in order that her husband's hunting might prove more fortunate.[2] The details given in both instances are too scanty to afford much basis for speculation, but can hardly be interpreted as implying more than that in certain cases dead magicians would be 775 [753] [769] 114 184 769 789

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[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 147-8.

[2] *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 21, 22.

114 asked to make use of the special powers they had possessed in life
184 and apparently still retained, just as they would be approached when
769 alive. The main conclusion to be drawn, in fact, is that these Bush-
789 men do not regard dead people as wholly severed from the world
[775] of the living. There is certainly nothing here to warrant the assumption of any regular organized worship of the dead.

WORSHIP OF HEAVENLY BODIES

782 Religious cult among the Cape Bushmen centres largely in the
821 worship of the Heavenly Bodies, and especially of the Moon. Prayers
[794] directed by them to the Moon have been recorded in the texts collected
by Bleek and Lloyd, but unfortunately the details given are far too
[114] scanty to throw much light upon the nature of the worship. One account, indeed, indicates that when the New Moon first appears every man prays to it, and Orpen also mentions having seen Bushmen throw sand in the air and shout out on seeing the crescent moon when it first appeared, but there is nothing else to suggest any special form of rite. The prayers themselves are chiefly prayers for food, and one of them, just lately published by Miss Bleek,[1] may be quoted as illustrating the form of invocation. It is spoken with raised right hand :—

539 Ho, my hand is this,
782 I shoot a springbok with my hand
By an arrow.

821 I lie down,
I will early kill a springbok
To-morrow.

Ho, Moon lying there,
Let me kill a springbok
To-morrow,
Let me eat a springbok ;
With this arrow
Let me shoot a springbok
With this arrow ;
Let me eat a springbok,
Let me eat filling my body
In the night which is here,
Let me fill my body.

Ho Moon lying there,
I dig out ants' food
To-morrow,
Let me eat it.

Ho Moon lying there,
I kill an ostrich to-morrow
With this arrow.

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[1] "Bushman Folklore," *Africa*, ii (1929), 306.

or other worship directed to these bodies.[1] How far the absence 821
of moon worship must be attributed to the fact that these Bushmen [782] [177]
have long been exposed to Bantu influence is difficult to say. In
view of the comparative evidence afforded by the other Bushman
tribes, however, as well as the fact that the Hiechware have certainly
been considerably influenced by the BeChwana, this seems the most [114]
reasonable suggestion; although, as already noted, Dornan cannot
be regarded as a fully reliable authority.

The evidence on the whole shows quite definitely that worship 821
of the heavenly bodies, and especially of the Moon, exists among 771
the Bushmen. In all the instances noted, the New Moon is prayed to; 782
in the case of the Cape Bushmen for food, although the details of
the ceremony are not available, while among the Naron, Auen,
and !O Kung there is a special ceremony at which it is invoked for
rain. There is nothing to suggest that the Moon is conceived of [776]
as a supreme deity, or that it forms the object of an elaborate cult.
At the same time the prayers and ceremonies noted clearly constitute
an act of worship. They must therefore be regarded as part of the
Bushman religion. The prayers and usages relating to the sun and
the stars among the Cape Bushmen suggest a wider sidereal worship,
which the scanty details from the Northern tribes would seem to
bear out; but the worship of the Moon seems to be by far the most
prominent.

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

In other aspects of religion and mythology there appears to be 773
a good deal of variation in details among the different Bushmen 776
tribes. The most prominent figure in the mythology of the Cape [184]
Bushmen is the Mantis, round whom a whole cycle of myths has been
formed. Besides his own proper name, */kaggen*, he possesses several
others, as does also his wife, whose most usual name, however, is
/huntu!katt!katten, the Dassie or Rock Rabbit (*Hyrax capensis*). [825]
They have three children, a daughter, of whom there is no further
mention; a son, *!gaunu-ts'axau* (*!gaunu* is the name of a certain
star, and *ts'axau* means "eye"), who in one of the tales is killed by
baboons, and restored to life again by the Mantis; and another son,
/kaggen-ʘpwa, the young Mantis, who also figures in one of the tales,
where his likeness to his father is commented upon. Besides his own
children the Mantis has an adopted daughter, */xo*, the Porcupine. [825]

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[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 163.

Ko(ʼngo), as

776 we have already seen, comes sometimes to the people while they are [797] dancing, and informs them where game is to be procured; while [224] if she breathes upon a man's arm this makes him shoot better.[1]

From these accounts we may gather that the Mantis among the Basutoland Bushmen is regarded as the creator of all things, and is [782] especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food, for success in hunting, etc. He is also linked up with certain dances in some way connected with [756] initiation, although, from the description given by Orpen's informant, [791] it is probable that the "initiated" men referred to are the magicians, who are also the physicians in all Bushman tribes. The tales recorded [773] by Orpen show that the Mantis here has much the same mythological character as among the Cape Bushmen. The latter, however, do [184] not pray to him, although by them also he is said to have creative powers and to have made certain game animals which are under his special protection.

184 776 Further north there are no particular beliefs about the Mantis. Some Kung youths from near Lake Ngami, however, repeated to Miss Lloyd several tales about */xwe*, a little personage not identified with any animal, who plays tricks and transforms himself into a variety of things. */xwe* also has some dealings with the Moon and the Hare, outstanding figures of Bushman lore. He seems to have much in common with the Mantis, but there is no further mention of him in the other branches of the Kung or in any of the other North-Western tribes.[2]

776 The Naron and Auen at Sandfontein spoke to Miss Bleek about *Hishe* or *Hiyesha*, a supernatural being who lived in the east, and who, as we have already seen, appears in various guises at the boys' [881] puberty ceremonies. He is regarded as the protector of the game and hunting; he once, when the trees and animals were people, bade them assume their present forms; he also instituted marriage and the mode of life of the Bushmen, Hottentots, and Europeans. [756] From a casual reference by Miss Bleek it further appears that the magicians "worked" with Hishe, but unfortunately she throws [114] no light at all upon the meaning of this statement.

177 776 From the Hottentots these people were beginning to borrow the idea of *!khuba* or *!xuba* (cf. Campbell's "Goba"). This is the

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[1] Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 32–3; Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage*, etc., 501, 505–6; Orpen, "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *passim*.

[2] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 404–13.

Nama word for "master, lord", and has been used by some 177
missionaries for "God". The Naron and Auen were vague as to 776
the nature of *!khuba*. The old men did not know of him; the
middle-aged men said *Hishe* was *!khuba*; while some of the younger
people said he was the sky, others that he dwelt in the sky; they
prayed to him to let them live long and to make them well when ill.
Women who when young had been kidnapped and held as slaves
by Nama chiefs were very fluent on the subject of *!khuba*; the others, [648]
remarks Miss Bleek, had evidently picked up the word without [567]
attaching any clear meaning to it, beyond that it was some sort of
deity and that it was "good to pray to it". The same word (given
by him in its vocative form *!khutse*) was also found among the partly-disorganized groups of these Bushmen by Fourie, who translates
it "God".

A few of Miss Bleek's informants further mentioned *Huwu* or 776
Huwuba, but they did not know much about him—he was the
"captain" of the men in the north, the Makoba and others. They
also said he was the brother of *Hishe*, while one man called him the [177]
"captain" of the white people.[1]

Huwu or *Hu'e* figures very prominently among the Kung, however. [184]
Miss Lloyd's young informants from near Lake Ngami only once
mentioned him. They began the tale of the Moon and the Hare [773]
with the words, *Huwe* made all things; and in explanation said,
Huwe made all things to eat (i.e. all animals that are eaten), and *Huwe*
is a man.[2] Vedder, who studied the Kung at Tsumeb, much further
west, speaks of *Huwe* as a "good being", to whom the people
attribute the creation and maintenance of all things. They pray to [782]
him for food, as we have already seen, at a special ceremony held
once a year when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen, [796]
and they also in case of sickness call upon him to restore them to [755]
health.[3]

Lebzelter, in his account of Kung religion, says that all the groups investigated by him have the belief in a "supreme good being" ("ein höchstes gutes Wesen"). Among the Eastern Kung this being is termed *Xu* (elsewhere he spells the name *//Khu*)[4] or *Xuwa*,

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[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 24–6; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

[2] Quoted in D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123.

[3] "Grammatik der !Kû-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.

[4] It may be mentioned here that Lebzelter is inconsistent in the orthography he employs:
!Kuŋ is elsewhere written *//Khun*, *//gauab* alternates with *!gauab*, *gagorob* with */gau /gorob*, [114]
and so on.

everywhere he is regarded as the creator of all things, including 184
mankind, and he sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, in sickness, 776
before and after hunting, and before travel, and by the group at [821]
Uukualuthi he is also given the first-offerings of the chase, as among [782]
the Kung of the Oschimpoloveld. Almost everywhere he has [224]
neither wife nor children; it is only among the Eastern Kung that mention is made of these. He is regarded everywhere as benevolent and good, but appears to have no connection with the moral life of the people.[1]

The !O Kung in Angola did not mention *Erob* or *Xuwa*, but spoke again of *Huwe*. Here, as we have seen, *Huwe* occasionally appears at the boys' puberty ceremonies and dances with the initiates, sometimes as a youth, sometimes in double guise as man and woman. In the prayer to the New Moon his name may also be substituted for *//nwa-se*, but apart from this substitution there is no evidence of worship directed towards him. He is further said to appear to [787]
people in dreams.[2] Of the attributes found by Lebzelter for the "supreme being" among the Kung and the Heikum no mention at all is made by Miss Bleek.

Huwe appears again among the Bushmen of the Eastern Kalahari. They believe, according to Dornan, in a spirit which they variously call *Dzimo*, *Thora*, and *Huwe*. *Dzimo* is a corruption of the Chwana [177]
word *Modimo*, nowadays generally rendered "God", and is, says Dornan, "largely used by the tame Bushmen with the same signification." *Thora* and *Huwe* are the regular Bushman words. *Huwe* is here spoken of as the good spirit who wards off disease, gives plenty, and protects the Bushmen from danger. When any danger [782]
threatens, they will call upon him; Dornan mentions having once heard some Bushmen of the Sansokwe River sing over and over again the words *Huwe ka hume ie ie*, *Huwe* come to our aid ie ie. More often, however, they speak of *Thora*. They say he made all things, but they are not sure where he dwells, or if he is a person. According 114
to Dornan they look upon him as the Great One, who is over all 776
things, who sends rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in 224
hunting. They often use *Thora* to ensure success in hunting;
when, e.g. they have killed an animal they will praise him for bringing [821]
it under their arrows. This statement Dornan seems to have derived

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[1] Lebzelter, op. cit., 410–12; cf. Schmidt, "Die alten Buschmann-Religion," 157, summarizing Lebzelter's data.

[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 14; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 122, 123.

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114 from Chapman, who records that once when some Bushmen were
776 with him and he had killed a rhinoceros they threw some dust on
[224] its tail and spat in its eyes before they touched it, muttering meanwhile "some gibberish" to *Thora*, while on another occasion when he had killed some elephants a similar performance was again enacted by his Bushman attendants.

The distinction between *Thora* and *Huwe* is not quite clear from Dornan's account. In one place he seems to imply that the two words refer to the same conception. Elsewhere, however, he remarks: "Huwe seems an inferior kind of spirit to Thora, for at times the latter is invoked to come to his aid, as if the former were not powerful enough to defend himself and his children. Some Bushmen near the Tuli River sang the following words, in an agitated and melancholy
[539] voice: 'Thora ba Huwe i-e i-e, Thora come to the help of Huwe
[782] i-e i-e,' ad lib." From their attributes, however, it seems that the two conceptions *Thora* and *Huwe* are substantially the same. In all probability the name *Huwe* has drifted in from the west, which would explain why it is sometimes substituted for *Thora*, sometimes found alongside it.[1]

192 In addition to this being variously named *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Erob*,
821 *Thora*, etc., all the Northern Bushmen also speak of *//gauwa* (*Gaua*,
[776] *//gaua*, *//gauab*, etc.). This word, as we have already seen, is used
[184] by the North-Western Bushmen for "a person who has died", or
[775] more precisely, as appears in certain cases, for the ghost of a dead person. It is, however, also used with a much wider application. Among the Naron and Auen at Sandfontein the wind is called *//gauwa* when it is strong and howls. One of the Naron tales recorded by Miss Bleek speaks of the wind as a man going about, and of *//gauwa* as a bird accompanying him. "*//gauwa* says: 'I make the wind and thus go.'" Some of the people seemed to believe in a supreme
192 *//gauwa*, a being who lives in the east near *Hishe*, to whose house the
776 ghosts repair by day. They said he was *Hishe's* younger brother,
114 while others said *//gauwa* was *Hishe*. Miss Bleek affirms that no ideas of good or bad qualities are connected with either of these beings, nor are they prayed to. Fourie, however, speaks of *Gaua* among the partly-disorganized Auen and Naron as a "bad being" or "Satan", to whom people dying a "bad death" are said to go,

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[1] Dornan, op. cit., 148–50; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, I, 186, 81. The translation given by Dornan of the prayer in which *Thora* is asked to come to the aid of *Huwe* cannot be relied upon. In another place (*J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1917, p. 53) he renders the same words: "God leave (us) alone ie ie!"

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while those dying a " good death " go to *!khutse* (*!khuba*). " About 114
the nature of these beings," he adds, " they have no idea, nor are 192
their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them." But 776
he records a tale in which the knowledge of magic by the Bushmen [773]
is ascribed to *Gaua*, who initiated one of them " on the other side "
into the use of the small magic quiver (cf. below " Magic and [881]
Magicians "), while in his description of the boys' puberty ceremonies
he speaks as if *Gaua* were the supernatural being figuring in them,
whereas Miss Bleek's informants all mentioned *Hishe*.[1]

Vedder, again, says of the Kung at Tsumeb that they believe 184
in *//gaua*, who is opposed to *Huwe*, and from whom they expect only 192
evil. They protect themselves against him by means of amulets. 776
The !O Kung of Angola ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*. [751]
When it thunders, they say " *//gaua* thunders ", and when anyone [821]
is struck by lightning, a frequent occurrence, the death is related in
the words : " *//gaua* took him or her." Two aunts of Miss Bleek's [761]
informant who had been killed by lightning were said to sit in the [775]
sky as stars. All stars are called *//gaua's* fires ; there do not seem [821]
to be any separate names for them. *//gaua* also leads the people at
a girl's puberty dance, and the cuts made on the girl's body are said [881]
to be in his honour. The same informant, a female magician, said [304]
that the Bushmen were *//gaua's* children. He is a male being who
comes in from the forest, where his dwelling is a hole in the ground,
and magicians can see it from afar. But people do not pray to him. [782]
This was also stated by a male informant, who said *//gaua* was *Ndʒambi*
(the Mbunda word for deity, used by the missionaries for " God ") ;
" we pray to sun, moon, and stars," he added, " but not to *//gaua*." [2]

Much new light is thrown upon the conception of *//gaua* by 114
Lebzelter's accounts of the spirit world among the Kung and the 184
Heikum. Among the Eastern Kung, he says, the " great captain " 776
Xu is also the lord of all the spirits, *//gauab*, to whom he entrusts all
dealings with mankind, except in the matter of rain, over which he [192]
himself directly presides. These spirits affect human life both [821]
helpfully and harmfully. They can be seen and spoken to by the [756]
magicians, and look like men, but many of them are lame. They
are not classified systematically by the Kung, but Lebzelter claims [787]
to recognize five kinds.

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[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 26, 46; Fourie, " Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

[2] Vedder, op. cit., 6, 7; D. F. Bleek, " Buschmänner von Angola," 54; *idem*, " Bushmen of Central Angola," 123-4.

184 776 Bushmen of the Orange Free State, where, as we have seen, Campbell [192] mentions that the spirits attendant upon *Ko* (the Mantis) are called *Gauna*, and that after *Ko* has disappeared from the dance in which she was taking part, " her nymphs " also come and dance for a while. Nothing more is said about them, however.[1]

● 114 The problem now arises as to the real nature of these beings. The information relating to them is sometimes vague, sometimes 776. inconsistent, and at all times obviously inadequate. No interpretation of their nature can therefore be regarded as fully reliable until it has been confirmed by a much more careful and detailed study in the field than has yet been made of the beliefs and usages connected with them. Moreover, as we shall see subsequently, the conception 171 776 of *//gaua* also figures prominently among the Hottentots and Bergdama, whose religious beliefs and practices in general offer other features of resemblance to those of the Bushmen. A comparison of the Bushman concepts on the one hand and those of the Hottentots and Bergdama on the other, may thus succeed in throwing further light upon the problem, the final consideration of which may therefore be delayed until the religions of these peoples have also been passed in review.

177 776 Certain points arise, however, which may at once be dealt with. The notions of *!khuba* among the Naron and Auen, and of *Dʒimo* among the Hiechware, may be set aside in the attempt to ascertain the real nature of Bushman religious conceptions. They have admittedly been taken over from other peoples, the former from the Nama, the latter from the BeChwana. *Erob*, mentioned by Lebzelter [797] as the name for the " Supreme Being " among the Western Kung and certain of the Heikum, is simply a corruption of the word *Elob*, from the Hebrew *Elohim*, which has been used by many missionaries among the Nama as a translation for " God ".[2] Its occurrence among these Bushmen is therefore an obvious indication of Christian influence, entering either directly through the missionaries or, more probably, through contact with the Nama; and in this connection it must be remembered that almost all the Heikum now speak only

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[1] *Second Journey into S. Africa*, II, 31–2.

[2] Pater Schmidt, in accepting Lebzelter's data as convincing evidence for the existence of a Supreme Being among the Bushmen, remarks about *Erob* (" Die alte Buschmann-Religion," 397, n. 4): " Wenn er christlichen Ursprungs sein soll, von Elob, aus Elohim, so darf man fragen, warum das Inlaut -*l* in *r* übergegangen wäre." To this it may be replied that the sound *l* does not occur at all in Nama, save in a few words taken over from European languages, and that in most borrowed words where it does occur the Nama form of the word replaces it by *r*. The transmutation of *Elob* into *Erob* therefore follows a definite law of phonetic change in Nama. Cf. on this point Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, pp. 18–19.

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Nama. Nama influence is seen also in the word *Heiseb* found among 177
the Heikum of the Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga. This 776
is one of the names applied to the mythical hero more commonly
known as *Heitsi Eibib*, who figures so prominently in the religious
system of the Nama. Its absence from the other Bushman tribes [184]
is clearly suggestive, although the name *Hishe* found among the
Naron and Auen may possibly be a corruption of it. The various
current interpretations of *//gaua* as " the evil being ", " the devil " or
" Satan " must likewise be dismissed as alien to native Bushman ideas. [797]
The word has been widely used by missionaries among the Nama
for " Devil ", and there can be little doubt that it is ultimately from
this source that such interpretations have been derived.

All these direct symptoms of borrowing from other peoples show 177
clearly that the religious conceptions of the Northern Bushmen as
recorded above can by no means be regarded as untainted by foreign 771
influences. The final interpretation of these conceptions will therefore have to take into account the religious ideas of the neighbouring peoples as well, especially of the Nama, in order that a full basis for discussion may be obtained. This is all the more necessary since the information relating to them as now held by the Bushmen is hardly sufficient to enable us to determine satisfactorily the full meaning attached to them by the people, to determine, that is, what part they really play in native life. For the moment, however, it may be of service if we attempt to reduce to some order the various accounts given by our authorities of these conceptions.

A general survey of the attributes said to be vested in the different 776
beings figuring in the religion and mythology of the Northern Bushmen seems to show that on the whole we have to deal with two main
conceptions. There is in the first place the conception known [184]
variously to the North-Western Bushmen as *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Xuwa*, *Hishe*,
or *Erob*, and to the North-Eastern Bushmen as *Thora* or *Huwe*.
By Lebzelter, whose account cannot be entirely freed from a suspicion [114]
of prejudice in favour of the monotheistic doctrine associated with
the name of Pater W. Schmidt and his school of disciples, *Xu* or
Erob is spoken of as an anthropomorphic " supreme good being "
dwelling in a house in the sky, where he receives the souls of the
dead. He is regarded as the creator; he controls the rain and its [821]
associated phenomena of thunder and lightning, and punishes evil-doers with lightning; he sends good fortune in hunting and in the [224]
collection of veldkos, is prayed to before and after hunting, and is [782]
[756]

776 honoured with certain ritual observances connected with the chase;
[782] he is also prayed to for rain, before travel, and in case of illness;
[224] and finally it is from him that the magicians obtain their special
[756] powers. By the Eastern Kung he is said to have a wife and many
children; among the other Kung and the Heikum he figures alone.

Few of these attributes are mentioned by Miss Bleek in her remarks
184 upon *Hishe* among the Naron and Auen, and upon *Huwe* among the
776 !O !Kung. But there are certain points of agreement. *Hishe* dwells in
[775] a house in the east, to which the ghosts of the dead repair by day;
[224] he is regarded as the creator, and as the protector of game and hunting.
On the other hand *Hishe-Huwe*, sometimes alone, sometimes in double
[881] guise as man and woman, sometimes "followed by children like
[114] baboons", figures prominently in the boys' puberty ceremonies, which
are not referred to at all by Lebzelter. At the same time, since these
ceremonies certainly have much to do with hunting, their association
with *Hishe-Huwe* is not inconsistent with his character as protector
of the game and hunting, although of course it is hardly likely that
this provides the only explanation for his figuring in them. Nor
[782] is he ever prayed to among these tribes, save where the name *Huwe*
is substituted by the !O !Kung for *//nwa-se*, the New Moon, in the
prayer for rain. Most of the prayers for food and rain, however, are
directed to the heavenly bodies, especially the Moon.

A closer agreement with Lebzelter's account is provided by Dornan's
[114] discussion of *Thora-Huwe* among the North-Eastern Bushmen.
Thora is here said to be the creator who is over all things, he sends
[821] rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting, certain
[224] hunting observances are directed towards him, he wards off disease,
[753] and protects the Bushmen from danger.

It is possible also to find a connection in certain respects between
Huwe and the conception of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen.
Among the Cape Bushmen, it is true, the Mantis is primarily a mythological
character, the central figure of an elaborate series of myths
[782] relating to him and his "family". He is never worshipped, but on
the other hand, like *Huwe*, he has creative powers, and is also said to
[825] have made certain bucks and to protect them. Mention is further
[775] made by these Bushmen of an afterworld to which go the spirits
of the dead, but there is nothing at all to link this up with the Mantis,
just as there is nothing to link up the afterworld of the North-Eastern
Bushmen with *Thora*. The resemblance between the Mantis and
Huwe is far more noticeable among the Bushmen of Basutoland.

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makes thunder and lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people 184
by means of shooting stars. Finally, among the Eastern Kung, 776
/nawa or the chief of the *//gauab* figures as the creator, and, as the [821]
executive of *Xu*, he is the source of good luck in hunting and is [224]
honoured with the first-offerings of the chase and prayers for success;
he is also, however, most frequently the cause of illness. It seems [782]
extremely probable that in all these cases the conceptions of *Huwe* [753]
on the one hand and of *//gaua* on the other have been blended or [178]
confused; they are sufficiently distinct in other respects to make
this assumption appear not entirely groundless. The same explanation 114
may be advanced for the conflicting reports given by Miss Bleek 178
and by Fourie of one important feature in the Auen puberty ceremonies
for boys: according to the former, it is *Hishe* who figures in the 776
special dances, while the latter states that this function is fulfilled 881
by *Gaua*. *//gaua*, it will be remembered, also presides at a girl's [184]
puberty dance among the !O Kung. Whether we have here a similar
confusion is uncertain, since in none of the other Bushman tribes do
the supernatural beings figure in these ceremonies for girls. But a
suggestion that this may be the case is conveyed by the fact that
one of Miss Bleek's informants identified *//gaua* with *Ndzambi*,
the Mbunda (Bantu) word for deity, used by the missionaries for
"God", while another spoke of *//gaua* as the "father" of the
Bushmen.

We are left, therefore, with the conception of *Huwe*, *Thora*, or 184
the Mantis (among the Basutoland Bushmen) as the creator, the 776
source of the beneficent rain and of good luck in hunting and food
gathering, and the protector of his people from illness and danger; [224]
and with the conception of *//gaua* first as the ghosts of the dead [753]
and then as a personified being, in both cases the source of illness [821]
and death, inflicted in the latter case through the medium of thunder, [775]
lightning, shooting stars, etc. This analysis is not advanced as an
interpretation of the meaning of these beings, nor does it ignore the
possibility of elements having been borrowed from other peoples;
it is intended merely to summarize briefly what appear to be from
the accounts of our authorities the principal religious conceptions
common to most of the Bushmen of the present time.

MAGIC AND MAGICIANS

In all the Bushman tribes people are found who deal in the 756
mysterious or supernatural, who are regarded as endowed with

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756 supernatural powers, or who are able to control, either for social
purposes or for their own ends, the spiritual forces upon which
the social welfare depends. There is no English word which
adequately describes them, but such persons may be loosely termed
magicians.

Among the Cape Bushmen, these magicians, who might be of
either sex, were called */gixa* (plural, */giten*). There is unfortunately
[114] no information available as to how they acquired their powers, nor
have we any clear description of the part they played in the life of the
community. A few details about them may, however, be gathered
from the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd. Some magicians were
[821] rainmakers, who went out to catch the rain bull and lead it over the
land bringing rain. Others, again, had special powers over particular
[825] game animals, such as the springbok or the ostrich. Some magicians
were able to assume and go about in the form of animals such as the
lion, springbok, jackal, or a little bird; others, even when asleep,
knew what was going about at night, and took care of the people,
defending them from evil magicians. For some magicians could
[757] cause illness by shooting with invisible arrows, and the patients
would die, even though doctored; while some were said to eat the
flesh of the dead. When a magician died an earthquake took place,
[823] and his heart fell, as a shooting star, out of the sky into a waterhole.
His powers, however, he continued to possess even after death,
[775] for there are mentioned several occasions on which a dead rainmaker
was asked to send rain or a game magician to give success
in hunting.[1]

These beliefs, fragmentary as they are, show definitely that the magicians were held to possess supernatural powers, which they might use for good or evil; but, apart perhaps from the making of rain, there is nothing to link them up with any cult or public ceremony, or to indicate that they ever played the part of priests.

[184] Among the Naron and Auen, however, the magicians, as we have
seen, function at the puberty ceremonies. They introduce *Hishe*
[881] into the dances, and make the cuts between the eyebrows of the boys.
[793] Among the Naron they are also the priests, who pray to the New
Moon for rain; while among the Auen they make rain by sprinkling
[821] on the ground a kind of red earth, which they fetch from afar and
carry about with them. The magicians, both male and female, are

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[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 18; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 22.

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by *Gaua* 'on the other side' into the use of the small magic quiver. 773 *Tji-Tji* had killed a gemsbok. *Gaua* arrived on the scene and said, 'I have come to you; you need not be afraid; both of us can sleep here.' After having consumed the animal and slept *Tji-Tji* remarked to *Gaua*, 'Give me that stuff (*//ai*).' The latter replied, 'If I give you the *//ai*, what will you pay me?' *Tji-Tji* answered, 'I will give you the horns.' *Gaua* then took the horns, made the little arrows out of them, invested them with *//ai* and before departing taught *Tji-Tji* the *//ai* dance. From that time the Bushmen have known how to use magic."

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The small magic quiver and arrows to which reference is here made are no doubt the miniature weapons found among all the North-Western tribes. In a set seen by the writer the bow, made of a piece of bone, was barely 10 cm. long, and the arrows, for which sharp thorns were used, were small in proportion. Similar arrows described by other writers consisted of a stalk of grass about 6 cm. long and a head of bone or hard wood about 4 cm. long. This head was sharpened at the end inserted into the grass stalk, while the protruding end was blunted.[1]

The range of these arrows is of course very limited, and different suggestions have been put forward as to their use. They are certainly not children's toys, as these miniature bows and arrows are used only by men, who carry them concealed about their persons. From various descriptions it appears that in some cases the arrows are definitely poisoned, and consequently among Germans the name "Bushman revolver" has become applied to these miniature sets. It is claimed that they are used as real weapons and that the poison on the arrow is strong enough to bring about the death of anybody struck by it. On the other hand, Miss Bleek says that among the Naron they are not poisoned, but are used by magicians who quarrel among themselves to settle their differences. "A medicine man wishing to destroy another, comes up close and shoots at the opponent's kaross with one of these arrows, blunt end foremost. The missile falls harmlessly to the ground, but the victim dies of the magic."[2] This statement is supported by the report of a case tried at Windhoek in 1912, where it was maintained, inter alia, that a poisoned arrow of this kind had been used against the accused. In the evidence, however, it was stated by several witnesses that these

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[1] Schapera, "Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," 116–17, and references.

[2] *Naron*, 28.

114 arrows are not poisoned but are used for "witchcraft", and "if
411 they are shot in the direction of an enemy, be he 100 kilos or more
754 away, witchcraft will bring about his death".[1] The myth recorded
756 by Fourie also lends support to the idea that these arrows are used for magical purposes. It is possible, too, that something similar is implied in the statement, mentioned above, that among the Cape Bushmen magicians caused illness by shooting with invisible arrows, but it should be noted that no such weapons as those here described have yet been found among them.

Apart from the special magic practised by magicians and associated
789 with them, there are among all the Bushmen various usages and
beliefs of a nature which may be generally termed magical, and which
224 are apparently common property. Many of the hunting observances
787 already described fall into this category. So, too, does divination.
Among the Cape Bushmen this occurs principally in the form of
[184] beliefs in the efficacy of omens, of which there are a great number with diverse significations. They say they feel in their bodies that certain things are going to happen; there is a kind of beating of the flesh which tells them things. Those who are stupid do not understand these teachings and disobey them, with the result that they get into trouble, are killed by a lion, and so on. These beatings tell those who understand them which way not to go, and which arrow it is better not to use, and also warn them when people are coming. They inform the hunter when game is close at hand, tell people where they can find the person for whom they are in search, i.e. which way to go, and so on.[2]

In the more northerly tribes is found the use of pieces of wood,
184 leather or bone as divining bones or dice. These are usually four
787 in number, and roughly triangular in shape, two of them being broad, the other two longer and thinner. The former are called male, the latter female. In the Eastern Kalahari they are usually each marked in a special way and named, but this is not found further west. The bones may be owned and used by anyone, not only by magicians. They are used in a very crude manner: the inquirer goes on throwing them on to his kaross until he gets a favourable answer. Such bones are frequently found among the Northern and Central Kalahari Bushmen, and occasionally among those dwelling on the southern

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[1] *Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and their Treatment by Germany* (Cd. 9146), 1918, p. 172.

[2] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17–18; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 330–9.

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borders of the Desert, but are unknown to the Cape Bushmen and 184
those of Griqualand West. Dornan maintains that they are original 787
elements in the culture of the Bushmen, from whom they have been 114
taken over by the Bantu. All the evidence, however, points in 177
the other direction, for among the Bantu the use of divining bones 787
of several different types is not only widespread, but also developed into an elaborate system of interpretation, while the way the Bushmen handle them shows that they do not know much about them. Moreover, it is found that the frequency of their use by the Bushmen coincides with the extent to which any tribe has been exposed to Bantu influence.[1]

Other minor beliefs and practices of the Bushmen are mentioned 751
by writers on particular tribes, but consideration of them must be
omitted in a general survey such as this. It may be noted, however, [184]
that among the Northern tribes amulets are often worn to ward off
disease and other evils, while among all the Bushmen charms of various [777]
kinds are also carried to ensure good luck. Bad dreams are also
regarded as evil omens, and precautions taken to counteract them. 787
Among the Cape Bushmen, for instance, when a woman had had a bad 789
dream, she banished it by plunging a stone into the fire, at the same time saying a spell. If she neglected to do this, the dream would accompany her when she went out to seek ants' larvae and prevent her from finding any. The Naron, in the same way, when they have had bad dreams put a bit of burning charcoal on the ground and pour
water on it, then the bad dream flies away with the steam. Or, [755]
when a man is ill and *Hishe* sends bad dreams, he takes a stick after the sun has arisen, plants it in the ground between his knees, burns *buchu* and snuffs it, and recovers.[2]

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[1] Werner, "Heikum und Kungbuschleute," 256; Kaufmann, "Auin," 159, Dornan, "Divination and Divining Bones," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx, 505–7; *idem*, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 155–8; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 28–9; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies*, 10–11.

[2] Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 365; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 29.

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shoulders, or holding his arms out behind her, without touching her. 535
In other dances the men dance round alone, then approach the line
of singers, holding out their arms. The courting motive is clear, 535
though not indecently expressed."[1] Stow, however, describes 831
certain dances of the Southern Bushmen which he stigmatizes as
lascivious and orgiastic, and in which, he says, "the women appear
to have offered themselves up to sexual congress."[2] There are several
suggestions also that the eland bull dance, as well as various others [114]
imitating the sexual life of animals, may assume a pronouncedly
erotic character, but these suggestions are conveyed as a rule by
our authorities in the form of generalized statements obviously based
on hearsay, and lack concrete illustration.

Most of the dances appear to be based on episodes in the lives of 535
wild animals; the dancers imitate the animals, and go through the
actions characteristic of them. Several of these dances, observed by 825
Fourie among the Heikum, may serve to illustrate their general
character. In the Jackal and Wolf dance, in which only the men take part, a hyena is represented feeding on a carcase and keeping off a couple of hungry jackals. Every now and again, as the latter attempt to approach too close to the carcass, the hyena scares them off and they jump out of the way. The Horse dance is likewise danced by men only, who go round quickly in a circle, while the women clap their hands in imitation of the sound made by a galloping horse. The Gemsbok dance, again, represents a gemsbok bull, cow, and calf being chased by two men with three or four dogs. The bull and cow carry horns but the calf does not. The buck lead and are followed by the men and dogs, who dance to and fro on the flanks until the animals are brought to bay. Then the men pretend to shoot, bows and arrows being represented by sticks, and one of the buck goes down wounded, while the others make off pursued by some of the dogs. The wounded animal fights in realistic fashion, sweeping at both men and dogs with its horns. The dance is continued until all the animals have been accounted for.[3]

Among the Southern Bushmen the dancers often made themselves up to represent various animals, birds, and imaginary monsters, with the aid of either paint or the skins, heads, and horns of the objects to be represented. In many of their dances "they were so dressed as to represent a particular animal, when the dance was called by its name; such was the *t'Gorlo'ka*, the *Man-nia*, or Baboon dance, in

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[1] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit. [2] Stow, op. cit., 115, 118–19. [3] Op. cit., 96.

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systems.[1] This grouping appears to have been formulated by him 172
without taking into consideration the numerous specimens of the 532
art found in the south-west Cape, and in South-West Africa, and can 184
therefore scarcely be regarded as definitive, but it provides a most [114]
useful basis for the archæological study of the paintings and engravings.

In Southern Rhodesia, according to him, there are three distinct series of paintings, which when found in superposition always occur in the same order. The oldest series are usually coloured a uniform flat red or yellow, occasionally found in outline only, and the figures are "nicely drawn". Certain paintings in a dark brownish-red are slightly more modern, and the style perhaps more developed, but they belong to the same series. The middle series are all in dark claret, and quite different from anything before, not only in colour, but also in style. There is a certain angularity about the figures; the paintings have clean, sharp outlines; the curves and angles of horns and bodies are well and finely drawn, and the style is vigorous and attractive. Finally we get paintings in earthy yellow, white, and the beginnings of polychrome. The style of art is quite different again and much less attractive, the animal figures heavier, the bodies less shapely, and the legs stiffer.

In the Central group the paintings are much more varied, and seem more modern than those in Southern Rhodesia. They are distinguished by wonderful developments of polychrome and the frequent occurrence of elaborate scenes of battles, dances, etc., such as are not found in Southern Rhodesia. Superposition is of much less importance, but it was noted that wherever paintings comparable in colour and style to the 'dark claret' series of Rhodesia occurred in superposition with any other colours or styles they were always undermost and therefore oldest. The rock engravings, which are most frequently met with in the central districts of the Orange Free State and the adjoining northern parts of the Cape lying immediately to the west, also belong to this art group. Its distribution coincides with that of the Upper Smithfield Industry of the Later South African Stone Culture, and the paintings and engravings are always found associated with implements of this Industry.

The Southern art group, again, is invariably associated with the Wilton Industry of the Later South African Stone Culture, which, like the Upper Smithfield Industry, is definitely of Bushman origin. The paintings are here totally dissimilar from and far inferior to those

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[1] Op. cit., 116-19.

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KNOWLEDGE OF DISEASE AND DOCTORING

164 The Bushmen in their own environment and leading their own
mode of life seem on the whole to be a healthy and hardy people.
Those communities in the north which have not been much in contact
with civilization are said to be remarkably free from infectious,
contagious, and other diseases. Except during heavy rainy
seasons, when malaria becomes unduly prevalent, the incidence of
disease is very small amongst them. Malaria, however, carries off
many victims, for the Bushmen do not seem able to withstand it
better than other peoples. Kaufmann, as we have seen, records
that in 1909 the mortality caused by it was especially high, whole
villages dying out, so that the numbers of the Auen were reduced to
less than half. Seiner, another trustworthy observer, states that
● [114] among the Kung fully 20 per cent of the deaths that occur, especially
of children, may be attributed to it; and it is officially recorded that
in the years 1917, 1923, and 1925 "large numbers" of Bushmen
died from it along the north-eastern and eastern borders of South-
West Africa. Smallpox, typhoid, dysentery, and phthisis are also
mentioned as occurring in these parts, the latter being promoted by
[276] excessive indulgence in tobacco and dagga smoking. Where contact
with other peoples is frequent, syphilis is often found, as well as
[177] measles, influenza, whooping-cough, scarlet fever, and other European
diseases. European clothing and dwellings have a bad effect upon
the Bushmen. They are particularly susceptible to pulmonary
affections when removed from their natural surroundings, and a
considerable number of those who have suffered from bronchitis,
pneumonia, etc., subsequently succumb to tuberculosis. When
[648] imprisoned, as many of them are in South-West Africa for cattle
stealing or breaking the game laws, they rapidly decline in strength
and die in great numbers, however kindly treated by the gaol
authorities.[1]

753 Sickness in most instances is attributed to the non-observance
of customary practices on the part of the person affected, to evil magic
exercised against him by other persons, to the malicious interference
of the ghosts of dead people who send the "spirits of disease" into
000 the patient's body, or to some similar supernatural cause. Treatment

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[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 136, 139; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 293; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 140–4; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 29–30; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 93; *Official Year Book of S.A.*, No. 8, pp. 983–6 *passim*.

Treatment

is administered by relatives or friends, or in cases of acute and pro- 755
longed illness by a magician well versed in medical practices, who is
paid for his services. In cases of the latter kind a very common
method employed is massage, leading up to the extraction of foreign
bodies ("disease-poisons", "spirits of disease", etc.) believed to have
been introduced into the patient and thus causing his illness. When
the "doctor" feels that the foreign body has been brought near
enough to the surface by his treatment, he sucks the part affected
and then, with a retching sound, triumphantly spits out the object
he is supposed to have sucked from the patient's body. Stones,
pieces of bark, small bones, etc., are thus extracted from the affected
part of the patient, who in consequence is cured![1] Lebzelter records
also that, while the "doctor" is busy performing this cure, the relatives [782]
and friends standing round pray to the "supreme being" to make
the patient well again; and, as we have seen, the use of prayers in
case of severe illness is mentioned by several other writers as well.[2]

More practical forms of treatment are also found, however.[3] Herbs 757
and roots of various kinds are extensively employed as medicines. 278
Sometimes they are burned to ashes which are then rubbed into small
cuts made in the patient's body, sometimes they are boiled and given
as a decoction. How far they actually do have curative effects is
difficult to say, as no special study appears to have been made of their
pharmacological properties, nor, save in a few instances, have they
even been identified. But Dornan mentions that "for blackwater they
use a plant called qilika (*Anacoampseros rhodesica*) by the Matabele; [824]
dysentery *Monsonia ovata*, and *Euclea lanceolata*; for various other
diseases, *Cannabis sativa*, *Solanum nigrum*, *Lippia asperifolia* (malaria),
Cratalaria burkeana, *Pterocarpus angolensis*, *Datura stramonium*,
Indigofera senegalensis, and *Bauhinea reticulata*".[4] Burns, open 752
sores, headaches, etc., are treated by rubbing medicated ointments
on the part affected. Chapman describes another method of treat-
ment undergone by himself. "Having a frightful headache from
the heat of the sun, I resort to my usual Bushman remedy, at the
expense of having my forehead ornamented with blisters dotted all
over it the next morning. April [his Bushman guide] has a root

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[1] A good eyewitness account of this treatment is given by Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 340–1; cf. also D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 29. [114]

[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 411; cf. pp. 183 sq. above.

[3] Nolte, "Krankheiten und Heilmittel der Nama und Buschmänner," *D. Kol-Ztg.*, 1886, p. 629 sq.; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 159, 282–3; ii, 74, 182; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Dornan, loc. cit.; Vedder, "Grammatik der ǃKũ-Buschmannsprache," 8–9; Fourie, loc. cit.

[4] Op. cit., 142.

752 which he puts into the fire, and brands me all over the forehead,
heating it again and again. It is the heat of the fire that gives the
relief, not the root, nor any of his genuflexions over me."[1] Surgical
practice seems to be limited to incisions made in the skin, but Vedder
notes that cupping is also employed among the Kung. Incisions
are made in the patient's skin and covered with the horn of an animal,
through which the blood is then sucked out.[2]

The existence of specific antidotes for arrow poisoning is reported
278 by several of the older writers, but their statements lack confirmation.
752 The effects of such a wound, as far as can be ascertained, are almost
[114] invariably fatal.[3] The Naron also have no antidote for snake poison,
the effects of which they try to counteract by tying the snake skin
round the bite. Kaufmann, however, records that among the Auen
the magician makes out of the black mamba, which he alone may
eat, an antidote supposed to act against all snake bites except that of the
mamba itself. He dries and powders the lungs, gall, and liver, as well
as the poison in the fangs, and mixes this powder with the fat of the
snake. The salve thus made is rubbed into the wound, which is first
sucked out. At the same time several deep cuts are made in the upper
arm, from which blood is allowed to stream freely.[4] There is nothing
[114] in Kaufmann's account to indicate whether this information is based
on personal observation or merely upon hearsay, so that it must be
received with caution. Chapman, a careful observer whose hunting
expeditions brought him into frequent close contact with the Bushmen
in the North-West Kalahari, describes another form of antidote
with which he himself saw the Bushmen cure themselves of snake bite.
This is a creeping tendrilous plant, called "eokam" by the Bushmen,
but unfortunately not identified by him. About eight or ten of its
seeds, either eaten or taken as a decoction, act as an emetic. The
dose is repeated about three times, when the patient is cured. "They
also tattoo and scarify their bodies, and make an incision near the
wound, which they suck with some of the root, chewed, in their
mouths. This is evidently to prevent the poison acting upon the
gums in case of bleeding. The sucking out of the poison is not
necessary, but is done by way of precaution. Bushmen having a bit
of this root on their necks laugh at snake-bites."[5]

751 Other writers mention that "doctors" sometimes render themselves

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[1] Op. cit., ii, 182.
[2] Loc. cit.
[3] The question is discussed by Schapera, "Bushman Arrow Poisons," 212-13.
[4] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 19; Kaufmann, op. cit., 159.
[5] Op. cit., ii, 74.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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immune to the effects of snake and scorpion poison.[1] One of these 751
animals is killed, and its poison, diluted with water and urine, is
rubbed in small quantities into small cuts made in the skin, or the
poison sacs are pulped and boiled, and then swallowed in small doses.
Schinz records an experiment made by himself on a Bushman doctor [114]
claiming this immunity.[2] He selected twelve scorpions and placed
them, by means of forceps, on different parts of the man's body—
hands, legs, arms, mouth, and testicles. Almost all of them stung
the flesh deeply once or twice, in every instance causing a large
drop of white matter to appear; then they crawled about leisurely,
but made no further attempts at stinging. "The old man maintained
that he felt no pain, and I have no reason to distrust him, as he would
hardly have allowed himself to be stung by scorpions on the most
sensitive parts of his body, merely to satisfy my curiosity, if the
poison would have had any effects on him; even a full hour after
our attempt the spots where he had been stung showed not the
slightest change." This experiment seems therefore to show that
there may be some foundation to the claim of immunity. The [756]
inoculation was apparently made in this case during the apprenticeship
of the "doctor", under the direction of his master. Our main
authorities on the Bushmen do not mention this practice at all, but
I have myself spoken to several detribalized Bushmen and
Nama in Little Namaqualand who claimed a similar immunity.
Unfortunately I neglected to inquire further into the matter, beyond
ascertaining the means of immunization.

Knowledge of Times and Seasons

In their system of time-reckoning the Bushmen make use chiefly 805
of meteorological elements, based on recurrent changes in wind and
weather, and of astronomical elements, based on observations of
the sun, stars, and moon. Their larger divisions of time are the [221]
seasons, which, owing to their effect on the food supply and on the [182]
movements of the people, assume a pronounced importance in Bushman
life. The division of the seasons is established by the rainfall. [13[illegible]]
The Cape Bushmen distinguished four seasons, rendered by Bleek [184]
and Lloyd in the English equivalents of spring, summer, autumn,
and winter, but the exact meaning of the native terms is not given.

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[1] Campbell, *Journey in S. Africa*, 441; Thompson, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 399; Cornell, *The Glamour of Prospecting*, 232.

[2] Op. cit., 395–6.